This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

ıtt 680.12

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

FROM THE BEQUEST OF

CHARLES SUMNER

CLASS OF 1830

Senator from Massachusetts

FOR BOOKS RELATING TO
POLITICS AND FINE ARTS

TURKS AND CHRISTIANS.

TURKS AND CHRISTIANS.

A SOLUTION OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

BY
J. LEWIS FARLEY,
AUTHOR OF "MODERN TURKEY," "TWO YEARS IN SYRIA,"
"RESOURCES OF TURKEY," "THE MASSACRES IN SYRIA,"
"DECLINE OF TURKEY," ETC.

IN ONE VOLUME.

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO., PUBLISHERS,
4, STATIONERS' HALL COURT.
1876.
(*The Right of Translation is reserved.*)

Ott 680.12

HARVARD COLLEGE
DEC 6 1901
LIBRARY

Sumner fund.

LONDON:
CLAYTON AND CO., TEMPLE PRINTING WORKS,
BOUVERIE STREET, WHITEFRIARS.

9764
53-85
24

TO THE

RIGHT HON. EARL RUSSELL, K.G.

My Lord,

In the month of August last, a little cloud appeared on the horizon of Eastern Europe. It was unnoticed save by a few, and, amongst these, your Lordship was the first to predict a storm. Many thought the cloud would disperse, but your political foresight was not at fault; and that cloud has gathered, until it now throws its dark shadow over the valleys of the Drina, the Sunna, and the Narenta. The silver lining, however, is at length appearing, and, ere long, the bright sun will burst forth—the sun of freedom. Wherever that sun shines, the Crescent disappears. To you, my Lord, the champion of civil and religious liberty; to you who were the first to give hope to the men of Herzegovina, battling for their homes, their honour, and their lives, I dedicate this book, which has been written on their behalf.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and obedient Servant,

J. LEWIS FARLEY.

12, *Great Winchester Street*,
London, E.C.
January 3, 1876.

PREFACE.

THE object which I have in view in publishing this volume is to give the reader a fair insight into the present condition of the Turks and the Christians, and, by that means, to awaken the sympathies of the English public on behalf of the oppressed Rayahs of Turkey. It is undoubted that, at the present moment, those sympathies are withheld, and while in Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy, the public mind has been horrified at the atrocities committed in the Herzegovina, and deeply moved by the sufferings of the unfortunate refugees, who are outcasts from their homes and have sought a refuge in Croatia, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, England, that was the first to break the manacles of the slave, looks calmly on, and manifests little or no concern in the misfortunes of the Christian Slaves of Eastern Europe. This want of sympathy

is, I believe, owing to the little knowledge of t subject existing in this country, and I feel assur that when the real facts are known Englishm will no longer stand aloof, but, on the contrary, w lend their aid to the Christians of Turkey in th legitimate endeavours to obtain equal rights wi their Mussulman fellow-subjects. Whatever t interests may have been which were supposed be involved in upholding Turkish rule in Euro they, at all events, no longer exist. The purcha of the Khédive's shares in the Suez Canal by t English Government has secured our right of w to India, and we have now no longer any spec interests which should, in the slightest degree, p clude us from giving our tangible sympathies to t Christians who suffer under the corrupt and tyranni rule of the Porte.

On former occasions I have written of Turkey, b many persons, who probably never read my books, possess a very superficial knowledge of the subje appear to think that in writing of Turkey I ha written of the Turks. In their minds, Turkey a the Turks are synonymous terms, and they a ignorant of the fact that Turkey is really only

geographical expression which serves to designate a country inhabited by Christians as well as Turks, and in which, in Europe at all events, the former are in a vast majority. In speaking of the immense resources of the Ottoman Empire, and pointing out how these resources might be profitably developed, I never contemplated that the results arising from an improved administration would benefit the Turks alone; on the contrary, I hoped that all, Christians as well as Mussulmans, should participate in the advantages to be derived from the adoption of those reforms which I advocated. I was on terms of personal intimacy with both Fuad and A'ali Pashas. I believed in their honour, their sincerity, and their patriotism; but when I found that their successors were betraying and ruining their country, I felt it my duty to warn the public against the calamities which I saw were impending. With that object I, twelve months ago, published a pamphlet on "The Decline of Turkey, Financially and Politically," and if Turkish bondholders had taken the advice I gave them in that *brochure*, they would have been saved the serious losses they now suffer.

Lady Strangford, who, with all due respect for her

ladyship, ought really to have known better, h
fallen into the common error, when she says, in
letter published in the newspapers, that before beco
ing the Standard-Bearer of the Christians, I ought
have made known the reasons for my change
opinion relative to Turkey. But the fact is that
have not changed my opinions relative to Turkey;
is the Turkish Administration which has change
No one would be more rejoiced than I to see a sta
of things existing in the Ottoman Empire, whi
would secure the liberties, the happiness, and t
advancement of all its people; but I never have a
never will advocate the oppression of one section
another. So far from supporting Turkish misrule,
on the contrary, stigmatized Turkish oppression; an
in my book on "The Massacres in Syria," I defend
the cause of the Christians at a time when pub
opinion in this country was in favour of the Mu
sulmans; and if, in my other works, I pointed o
the great resources of the Empire, I did not, on t
other hand, hesitate to indicate the defects in t
administration which prevented those resources fro
being utilized. I dedicated my book on the "R
sources of Turkey" to a Greek, and that on "Mode

Turkey" to another Greek. In the former, I said that, while endeavouring to trace the rise and progress of Turkish commerce, I was more and more impressed with the fact that it was to the Greeks the extension of British trade in the Ottoman Empire was mainly due, and that it was to their energy and perseverance we were indebted for the remarkable progress which had been made. An isolated sentence is not a fair criterion by which to judge of an entire book, and if I have at times done justice to the truthfulness, honesty, and patience of the Moslem peasant, that is no reason why it should be inferred that I have been blind to the corruption of Turkish officials. Fanaticism apart, the Mussulman peasant possesses many natural virtues, and it would be unfair to accuse him of the vices and crimes with which all classes of Turkish functionaries are justly charged. Hatred of the Ghiaour, however, pervades all ranks, from the highest to the lowest; and, in now advocating the cause of the Rayahs, I retract nothing I have previously written relative to Turkey itself, but simply plead on behalf of our fellow-Christians who are held in bondage by the followers of Mahommed.

A new programme of reforms has just been pro-

mulgated by the Porte; but no one, either here o in Constantinople, at all acquainted with the question believes that it will be carried out. The promise made are only a repetition of those which, on pre vious occasions, have deceived Europe, and when th pressure of the moment is removed, these promises like those contained in the Hatti-Scheriff of 1839 and the Hatt-y-Humayoum of 1856, will remain un fulfilled. What value can be placed on such promise when, at the same time, we learn that arrears of taxe are frightfully pressed, and the prisons are filled witl those who cannot pay, and even with those on whon the Government have no right to make a demand Edicts are issued for the remission of taxation, an fine sentiments are expressed for the ruined an enslaved populations, and meanwhile specific order are sent to the Governors to screw every drop o blood from the people, to grasp the last farthing, an wrest the last meal from their mouths. Within th past few months the condition of the peasants ha been aggravated. Money has been the cry of th Governors, and every chicanery has been used t extract the uttermost from the people; and in carry ing out this system of wicked impost and robbery

Christians are treated worse than the Moslems. 'Old practices which had long been in abeyance have been revived, and with such vigour as to surpass the usual brutality of the tax-gatherers, who are themselves interested in the amount collected. The people, in fact, are being driven to desperation. In some of the provinces of Asia-Minor, we are told, where British and American residents heroically exerted themselves to assuage the ravages of the recent famine, the people address their benefactors in these words:—"Alas! you had better have left us to die of starvation last year with the rest. All would then have been over, and we should have said the crops had failed; but now we have the bread which God has given through you taken out of our mouths to pamper the great men at Stamboul!"

12, *Great Winchester Street,*
London, E.C.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE.

THE EASTERN PROBLEM 1

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND AND THE EASTERN QUESTION 6

CHAPTER III.

THE TURKS 18

CHAPTER IV.

TURKISH ADMINISTRATION 37

CHAPTER V.

DEFAULT OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT . . . 72

CHAPTER VI.

THE TURKS IN EUROPE 96

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIANS OF TURKEY 123

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFUGEES 161

CHAPTER IX.

SOLUTION OF THE EASTERN QUESTION 169

APPENDICES.

I. Report of the Consul of one of the Great Powers in the Insurgent District on the History of the Insurrection and the Causes which immediately led to it . . 213

II. The Hatt-y-Humayoum of 1856 228

III. The Political Testament of Fuad Pasha . . . 235

IV. Bosnia 245

V. The Suez Canal 249

[redacted]

TURKS AND CHRISTIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EASTERN PROBLEM.

ERRATUM.

Page 212, line 12, *for* "one Great Powers," *read* "the Great Powers."

[redacted]d the "Eastern [redacted]lex of all those [redacted]hers and states- [redacted] the destinies—political, religious, and social—of a multitude of races, and the general march of progress in Asia and Eastern Europe. During the past fifty years, the greatest minds have laboured at its solution, and various systems have been suggested. Interest and sentiment, diplomacy and force, the principle of nationalities and the prejudices of religion, financial expedients and economic laws, have successively prevailed; but uncertainty and irresolution still exist.

In practice, all are guided by their own interests or sympathies. France and England were accomplices at Navarino, while the treaty of the quadruple alliance revealed the antagonism of their policy. Allies against Russia during the Crimean War, they separated after

the war to the profit of Russia. At the same ti
Austria committed the irreparable fault of remair
neutral at one of the most decisive moments of
history: preferring a precarious rule in Italy to a s
dominion on the Lower Danube. The question of
Principalities, as well as those of Syria, Montene
Servia, and Crete, has also passed through most
traordinary phases. In the Cretan affair, we h
seen the ships of the same Power aiding, at one ti
in the emigration of insular families, and, at anotl
assisting in their return; while Russia compromi
her traditional influence by sacrificing at the Con
ence that same Crete and that same Greece which
intrigues and her gold had excited to rise against
Porte. The Turkish Government has struggled vai
against the covetousness of its enemies and the inc
sistencies of its friends; whilst its interior policy
been characterized at one time by efforts of conse
tism which looked like immobility, and, at another,
sudden concessions which appeared almost revoluti
ary. The populations, ruined and perplexed,
themselves from what quarter aid will come, but
Great Powers look calmly on while Christian ho
are desolated by fire and sword; and while
Christians of Bosnia and the Herzegovina are batt
against the implacable enemies of the Cross, Pri
Nikita of Montenegro and Prince Milan of Servia
held back by Austria from aiding their suffering
religionists.

Turkey, though an Empire, is not a nation; it is rather an aggregate of nationalities or Governments accidentally united by having been the subjects of a common conquest. It is, in fact, a geographical expression which serves to designate the battle-field on which, for centuries, Islamism and Christianity have contended. The Sultan who reigns at Constantinople is less a Sovereign, in the European acceptation of the word, than the chief of a religious community, the Commander of the Faithful, the Khalif of Islamism. In principle, and in the Mussulman idea, his power rests on the institution of Mahommed much more than in the Empire, and as Rome is the capital of Catholicism, so is Stamboul the capital of Islamism. Thus the "Eastern Question" is a religious as well as a political question, and the interests that centre round the subject are more or less tinged with a religious aspect. France is by tradition the protectress of the Catholics. She intervened for the Maronites against the Druses, for the Greeks and the United Armenians against the schismatics. The missionaries, the brothers of the Christian doctrine, and the Sisters of Charity look upon the French ambassador at Constantinople as their guardian. So it is with England and the United States of America, who enforce religion under the cloak of politics. The various Protestant sects of the Old and New Worlds support schools and other establishments in Turkey for their propaganda, and promote their religious views by

means of missionaries, and the distribution of Bibl Russia, on its side, is the protector of the orthoc Church; and the expulsion of Islamism from the cra of orthodoxy, and the liberation of the Holy Pla from the custody of infidels, is the ideal presented the aspirations of the Russian people. The Crim War had its origin in the question of the Holy Pla and 780,000 men died before Sebastopol owing t dispute about a Silver Star and the Key of a Sanctua The grand Pan-Hellenic idea, too, is, beyond eve thing else, the possession of Saint Sophia; and i well known that, at the commencement of the Crim War, the Greeks postponed the baptism of tl children in the hope that the triumph of Russian a would enable them to perform this religious cerem in the ancient basilicas which had been transfor into mosques.

When Constantine was fighting against the c quering hordes of the son of Amurath, he applied vain for aid to the Latins of Rome, for the Catho hated the Greeks more than they did the Turks; when the last of the Palæologi fell in defence of capital, crushed rather by the defection of his Ch tian allies than by the arms of his enemies, it was wonder he exclaimed Θέλω Θανεῖν μάλλον ἢ ξῆν,— had rather die than live!" The same antagonism creed still exists, for, at the present moment, while Greeks of the Herzegovina* are fighting the des

* Slavonians in race, but Greeks in religion.

dants of Mahommed II., the Vatican orders its spiritual subjects to stand aloof. Russia looks on complacently while the Catholic Maronites of Mount Lebanon are mercilessly butchered by the Druses; France shows no emotion at the barbarities perpetrated on the Greeks of Bosnia, Roumelia, and Bulgaria; and England only evinces any interest when a Protestant convert is dragged in chains to the loathsome dungeons of Stamboul. And so it is that the Moslem still lords it in the Holy Places, and rules in the ancient city of Byzantium. Turkey in Europe is a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century, a foul blot on the escutcheon of Christian kings, and might go far to prove that Christianity is a profession, not a belief. Whatever faults the Turks possess—and we all know by this time what they are—a disregard of their religion is not one. If the Sultan were, to-morrow, to unfurl the Standard of the Prophet in defence of the faith, all Islam would arm for the holy war; yet the Standard of the Cross is year after year steeped in Christian blood, and Christian England looks calmly on, permitting the continuance of a despotism unparalleled in the history of the world.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE revival of the Eastern Question, under the chan circumstances of Europe, will decide the position which England is hereafter likely to stand towards Christian populations of Turkey. The good office the British Government, it is well known, have ne been withheld from the Porte, but its advice has alw been less partial and more disinterested than t afforded by other Governments who have interfe in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. T reason is, of course, obvious. England has had special bias towards either of the conflicting creeds the East, whereas a cognate faith has made Fra the avowed protector of the Catholics, while Rus has long known how to improve her profession of t "orthodox" faith by taking upon herself the champi ship of Greek Christianity. The contest, howev between Paris and St. Petersburg respecting t guardianship of the Holy Places, which led to t Crimean War, cannot be said to have had, in reali its origin in any abstract devotion of either nation its own form of worship; for if their pretensic

had, at the bottom, been free from political meaning, Sebastopol would probably never have fallen. England took part in the contest, though she had put forward no claims to the protectorate of the Holy Places, and had neither the opportunity nor the wish to make her own special form of Christianity a pretence for political meddling. She interfered in the simple support of the *status quo*, without ulterior object of any kind—which is more than can be said for either of the other Great Powers who engaged in the struggle. Her support of Turkish rule on that and other occasions, in no way involved an approval of the system under which the Christians of the Empire were governed; on the contrary, that support was given, at all events during the time of Lord Stratford, on the express understanding that the system in question was to be reformed.

Since the time when the battle of Navarino was called in the House of Commons "an untoward event," it has been the aim of England to lessen the grievances of the Rayah population of Turkey without weakening the lawful authority of the Porte. To this end, the British Government has, over and over again, made representations to the Porte, and those representations have been uniformly met by liberal professions and promises of reform. How far these professions and promises have been fulfilled are now perfectly known, and, to say the least, they have satisfied neither the Christian races of the Empire nor the public opinion

of Great Britain. The British public has becon wearied by repeated disappointments, and Englis statesmen, even if inclined, could not at this mome ask the nation to make any further sacrifice, either men or money, for the defence of Mussulman dominic in Europe. England will, indeed, never intrigue, b she cannot remain quiescent, for her interests in Ind must be protected. So long, however, as those int rests are not imperilled, the Eastern question is like to be, for the future, a secondary one for Britis politicians. The English nation cannot, with a d regard to its own reputation, always remain t champion of an immobility which is injurious to t common interests of civilization, and which retains many objectionable features directly opposed to t spirit of the age. The British popular feeling, on ready for almost any sacrifice in maintaining Ottom rule, is now averse from all further waste of mon or blood in what is at length regarded as a hopele cause. Turkey has lapsed, in the eyes of her be friends, into the very last stage of discredit, and cannot much longer remain in doubt whether t Ottoman system does or does not possess the energi necessary to the existence of an European Stat Turkey is not placed, as was her Byzantine predecesso in presence of a single inexorable foe, without hope assistance from without; nor was the chance given the last of the Palæologi of redeeming his country b reforming his administration. No tottering Orient

Empire was ever before offered safety on the simple conditions proposed to Turkey, that it should be financially prudent and judiciously honest, and should cease to neglect territorial improvements as necessary to the well-being of its population as they would be useful to the rest of the world. Fuad and A'ali Pashas, it is true, tried to free themselves from the vicious traditions of the past, but when we see how little those statesmen were able to effect during their fifteen years of power, we can have little confidence in their successors. How often during the past twenty years have Imperial "Hatts" and Ministerial decrees proclaimed an end of this or that abuse which is as rampant still as when the Peace of Paris was signed? How often was the Treasury to be relieved by the most sweeping retrenchment, and yet what single economy worth the name has been carried into effect? Christians were to be placed on absolutely the same level before the law as their Mussulman fellow-subjects; and yet, outside of Stamboul, Christian evidence is as valueless now against a Turk's as it was fifty years ago. So it is with every detail of administration. In the capital some improvements have been effected, but in the provinces no progress whatever has been made.

When Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the "Great Eltchi" as he was called, represented England as Ambassador in Constantinople, the influence of Great Britain was paramount at the Porte. In every part of

Turkey, from the Bosphorus to the Persian gulf an from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, to be a "Inglesi," an Englishman, was in itself a passport t respect. The English Consuls in the Ottoman Empir acting up to the spirit of the Capitulations, jealousl guarded the rights and protected the interests c British residents. When disputes arose—and i Turkey, where the Judges are venal and bribery i a recognized custom, disputes are inevitable—ther was no danger that the interests of British subject would be neglected. Our Consuls knew they woul be supported by the Embassy, and every Turkis functionary, from the Mudir to the Wali, from th Zaptiyeh to the Grand Vizier, was conscious of th power of England, personified in her representativ Lord Stratford de Redcliffe thoroughly understood th Turkish character, and, consequently, never allowe himself to be deceived. Honesty and truth are, t some extent, characteristics of the Moslem peasant but artifice, deceit, and falsehood guide the policy c Turkish statesmen. The Turk despises the man h can overreach, and has no respect for any one he do not fear. Lord Stratford was respected because h was feared, and, in the region of diplomacy, ther was no danger of his being surprised. The we known purity of his life, besides, and the stri integrity of his character had their due weight wit the Porte, where such qualities are exceptional, an in the same ratio as the Ambassador was honoured s

England was respected. It was an evil day for Turkey when the "Great Eltchi" quitted the banks of the Bosphorus, and his voice was no longer heard in the palace at Dolma-baghtché.

In the month of May, 1858, Lord Stratford was succeeded by Sir Henry Bulwer, a diplomatist of a very different type: a man of undoubted ability, but totally unsuited to wear the mantle of his predecessor. His policy consisted in doing nothing; non-interference was exactly suited to his habits, and the indolence of Eastern life was in accordance with his tastes. His tone of thought, too, was Oriental, and he adopted, *con amore*, the customs of those around him. During his seven years' tenure of office, the influence and prestige of England visibly declined in Constantinople. Had Sir Henry Bulwer succeeded any other Ambassador, the result might not have been so apparent; but the contrast between him and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was too marked and startling.

Lord Lyons, who succeeded in 1865, did much to retrieve the position we had lost. The services rendered to Turkey by his father were in themselves sufficient to ensure him a cordial reception from both Fuad and A'ali; but he never liked the place, and his stay was too short to have produced any lasting good. He possessed, however, the esteem and respect of the Porte, and left behind him many kindly memories in Constantinople.

As long as Fuad and A'ali lived, it was not possible

that the prestige of England in Turkey could be whol extinguished. "England," said Fuad in that remar able letter written on his death-bed at Nice, "h rendered us immense services, and it would be impo sible to calculate those which she may render us the future. I would rather lose several provinces th see the Sublime Porte abandoned by England." the death of A'ali, however, in September, 1871, new state of things came into existence, the old retr grade Turkish party came into power, and, since th date, the influence of England has rapidly decline until now an Englishman in Turkey is everywhere mark for insult and contempt. British interests Turkey are altogether neglected, and Sir Henry Elli acting no doubt upon his instructions, carries out t policy of non-interference to such an extent that ma British merchants think it best to quit the count Every Englishman, with, I believe, one exception, h been dismissed from the Turkish service, or, wh comes pretty much to the same thing, has had h salary suppressed. The English engineers, who wi their families had become domiciled at Constantino since the Crimean War, were some time ago sudden turned adrift by the Porte, and found themselves a foreign land without even the means of subsisten Claims of British subjects are utterly ignored, and is useless to apply to the British Embassy for redre When Essad Pasha, the late Grand Vizier, was Min ter of War, it was unsafe for an English lady to wa

alone in the streets of Pera owing to the brutality of the Turkish soldiers; and when last year he was appointed Governor-General of Syria, almost his first acts were to stop the building of a new Protestant school at Jaffa, to suppress the Protestant schools already existing in his pashalic, and to cause some Protestant converts to be imprisoned in the dungeons of Latakia. So low has the prestige of England fallen in Turkey that there is no longer any protection for the person or property of an Englishman. Even the person of our Ambassador is not safe, for Sir Henry Elliot was recently assaulted by a Tukish soldier in the environs of Constantinople. At Damascus, Mr. Vice-Consul Green only saved his life by flight from the dagger of an assassin, and we have lately heard of an attack on Lieut. Conder and his companions, principally Royal Engineers, in the performance of their duty, by a fanatic rabble at Safed. Such is the gratitude of a Government and a country for which England has made so many sacrifices both in treasure and in blood.

A single word might aptly describe the state in which Turkey is at this moment; yet something more, in the shape of explanation, is required, when no one can travel through the country without being struck with the richness of the soil, the signs and tokens of mineral wealth, the extent of the pastures, and the patient, hard-working character of the people. With all these visible and necessary adjuncts of prosperity,

it is natural to enquire why Turkey is now bankru both in character and in means.

The explanation is easily found:—

In the first place, it is found in the permanent sta of hostility existing between the Mussulman a Christian populations, arising out of the oppressic and injustice which the former exercise over t latter; notwithstanding that the Christian elemen from a purely material point of view, advances as t Mussulman recedes, until the Turk is actually oblig to look to an employment from the Government the sole means of supporting life.

Secondly, in the degeneration of the Turk since h first began to borrow from Western civilization a that it had to give in the way of vice and immodera luxury. Money, of which he knew not the valu became necessary; and to obtain it, he effected loan at any cost, from the Ghiaours at home and abroa without the slightest intention of repayment.

Thirdly, in the fabulous extravagance of the Palac and the monstrous system of cheating practised i every department of the State.

Fourthly, in the disorder incident to the abando ment of an old system before a new one w organized to replace it, and in the endeavour of t Turkish Government—never sincere in its desire t replace that which was bad by something that mig be better—to avoid doing anything, by always pr tending to adopt every scheme which foreign dipl

matists tendered for its acceptance; thus disgusting and disappointing its own populations without allowing them to reap any one of the many advantages which must have sprung from the adoption of a well-considered system of reform.

Fifthly, in the conscription which falls exclusively upon the Mussulman population, and withdraws from the tillage of the ground the bone and sinew of the country, and depopulates whole districts in Asia Minor.

Lastly, in the general state of corruption and degradation into which all public functionaries are plunged, and which prevents all probability of improvement.

It would be impossible to fully describe the corruption and peculation that prevails in Turkey. It exists in every department of the State, from the highest to the lowest. The *employés* are numbered by thousands, the majority of whom have been employed in every menial occupation in the households of the different Pashas who have from time to time filled the post of Minister; these men are ill paid, and are consequently obliged to secure a livelihood by any and every means at their command. No business can be transacted at a public department without bribing the subordinates, while the country is deprived of the muscle of a vast number of men who would be far more worthily occupied in tilling the soil, than in earning the right, by every conceivable baseness and humiliation, to

watch for the crumbs that fall from the great man' table. Every Pasha's house swarms with crowds (parasites, very few of whom receive regular wage but the majority of whom are fed and clothed, gettin every now and then an occasional backsheesh; a waiting until they can be placed in some publ employment, to which they are no sooner nominate than from unpaid servants they become wealth functionaries of the State.

It is said by many persons that great progress h been made in Turkey during the past twenty year but this is a delusion. Talking indifferent French not progress; wearing Saxony-cloth clothes, inste of cashmere robes, is not progress; lighting a fe streets in the capital with gas, and macadamizing road that leads to a palace, is not progress; printir Hatt-y-Hunrayoums, which are dead letters, is n progress; adopting the Code Napoléon, and travestyir it, is not progress; publishing an advertisement th the Sultan will not be liable for the debts of his harer after he knows those debts are incurred, is not pr gress; getting drunk on champagne or on brandy not progress; neither is it progress to publish budget which is a lie, or to make promises that a never intended to be fulfilled.

England, however, is in a great measure to blan for all this. With her power and credit amongst tl people of the East, who look upon Queen Victor almost as a Mussulman sovereign, she wastes h

strength in puny efforts, losing at once her reputation and influence, when, by an independent and fixed policy, she could secure both, and attain the political ends which are supposed to be involved in the integrity of the Turkish Empire, as well as those which should spring from the development of a country, the improvement of a people, and the institution of a just and impartial system of government.

England, therefore, considering the blood and money that has been wasted, has now the right to say to the Turkish Government, "You have had the opportunity and the time, but you have done nothing; your administration is disgraceful; the fairest portion of Europe is a desert, and we will not stand by any longer patient spectators of anarchy, tyranny, and corruption." England is justified in taking this course, for she would be doing no more than she is loyally bound to do on behalf of millions of human beings, who have for centuries endured the hardships of living in a state of slavery, devoid of political rights, and whose lives and property have always been at the disposition of a race of fanatics and barbarians.

CHAPTER III.

THE TURKS.

We would falsify history if we were to assert th Islamism is a bar to human progress, and the inher cause of Turkish decay. The laws of the Koran a it is true, opposed in every principle to those of t Gospel, but, nevertheless, they have not, in form times, been found unsuitable for the Government of Mussulman people. When the Christian West w still sunk in comparative barbarism and ignorance, t Mussulman East was the home of civilization, literature, of science, and of art. The Crusaders, is well known, brought with them, on their return Europe, the proofs of a civilization which, to the had been hitherto unknown. The glories of Grana and the wonders of the Alhambra are written in t annals of Spain, and when Abou-Abdallah, commo called Boabdil, stood in the pass of Apaxarras, a gazed for the last time on the towers and spires of lost capital, the most enlightened empire of that c passed away for ever. Chivalry had its root in Spa whence Charlemagne transplanted it to the centre Europe. The tournaments and jousts, the troubado

and knights-errant, Castilian pride, courtesy towards ladies, serenades, single combats, generosity towards the vanquished, faith in plighted word, respect for hospitality,—all were borrowed from the Mussulmans of Spain. Even in the present day, there is a great similarity between the Spanish character and that of the Arabs, who still possess many of the qualities which distinguished the warriors of Granada. I have sat under the tents of the Bedawîn, and partaken of their hospitality, and I can verify that there is not a finer or a more naturally noble race in the universe.

Under the reign of the Khalifs, commerce and civilization made greater progress in two centuries than the world had ever seen before. The cities were embellished, an architecture of the highest order lent its charm to the buildings, and everything that human ingenuity could accomplish was effected for the prosperity and welfare of the country. Our histories contain accounts of the presents sent to Charlemagne by the great Haroun-al-Raschid, that prince who has ever been, to our imagination, the embodiment of all that is grand, wonderful, and magnificent. Amongst these presents were perfumes of every kind, a profusion of pearls and jewels, an elephant richly caparisoned for war, and a clock, which appeared a wonder in Europe, and which was placed in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. Haroun-al-Raschid, although he had to pay an army of five hundred thousand men, and had built many palaces in different parts of his

empire, was yet able to give his son, Al-Mamoun, t million four hundred thousand *denarii* of gold; a when the latter was married, they placed upon t head of his bride a thousand pearls of the pur water, and opened a lottery, in which each pr gained either a house or a piece of land. Al-Mamc was the Augustus of Islamism. But all the glories the Khalifs vanished before the hordes of Othm and with the occupation of the country by the Tu set in a gloomy night of darkness, unrelieved, dur now more than three hundred years, by a single of light, or the faintest gleam of hope. This hord Tartars, descending from the fastnesses of the A range into the fair plains of Asia Minor and Sy rushed like tigers upon their prey. They laid wa far and near, with fire and sword, destroying utt whatever they could not appropriate, setting fir whatever would burn, and razing to the ground wl ever could be overturned. Statues, buildings, bo all shared in one common destruction; every wor art and every useful contrivance, the appliance science and the implements of trade, all disappe together, like a crop of vegetation after a visi locusts. They found a garden, but they made a de What the Turks were five hundred years ago they to-day! "In the nineteenth century," says the William Denton,* "large tracts of what was a smi

* "The Christians in Turkey." By the Rev. William De M.A.

and a fruitful land, cultivated with all the care of garden husbandry, and rivalling for beauty the best parts of the plains of Lombardy and of Flanders, have now become portions of the desert. From the shores of the Bosphorus, under the fairest sky, amid the most beautiful scenery, with a soil the most fertile of any in the world, surrounded by the ruins of ancient glory and civilization, the traveller now may wander for more than a hundred miles without meeting with a trace of the dwellings of man, save here and there the ruins which his horse tramples under its hoofs. If he asks for the inhabitants, he will hear only of graves, of heartless massacres, and of terrible martyrdoms on a gigantic scale, with pashas for the executioners, and grand viziers for the instigators. The desert is rapidly encroaching on the fertile land, and the sand is covering what was, a quarter of a century ago, the abode of industrious and happy peasants. The land was "as the garden of Eden;" it is now "a desolate wilderness."

If, at the present moment, we look to Egypt and to Turkey, we will see at once the difference between the Arab and the Tartar, or Turkish race. Look at Alexandria and Cairo, and then look at Constantinople, or any other city in Turkey. Modern Egypt cannot, it is true, compare with Ancient Egypt in the number of its inhabitants or the splendour of its cities; but what successive sovereigns, from Sesostris to the Khalifs, failed to effect, or accomplished only in part, has been

completely achieved, under the rule of the Khédi by the opening of the Suez Canal, while Alexand and Cairo are fast becoming cities of palaces, a the wealth of the country itself is every day increasi The harbour of Alexandria, the finest probably in t world, is crowded with the shipping of all nations, w a new breakwater and new docks in course of erectio warehouses filled with cotton, grain, and other ag cultural produce ready for export. You see eve where railways in operation, or in course of constr tion; everywhere, in fact, the signs of civilization a increasing prosperity. You see Alexandria its more like an European than an Eastern city, with magnificent buildings and its "Place des Consul that exceeds in size and beauty any square to be fou in Europe. You see the land irrigated by the Nil overflow, or by means of machinery, teeming w rich crops of wheat, barley, maize, and peas, clover a flax, rice, sugar-cane, tobacco and cotton, coff indigo and madder; steam-ploughs at work in cott cultivation, and every mechanical aid to producti made use of to increase the wealth of the people a the country. The Khédive, too, who, from his i mense wealth, his splendid hospitality, and libe patronage of art, is justly entitled to be called t Haroun-al-Raschid of modern times, is fast renderi his capital as luxurious as it is interesting.

Look at Constantinople, the exterior aspect of whi is the most magnificent in the world. But nature h

done everything, while man, at least the Turk, has done nothing. The first view of Constantinople, on rounding Seraglio Point, as the morning breaks in calm beauty over the Anatolian Hills, and the sun tips with gold the countless minarets of Stamboul, is, perhaps, one of the most exquisite in the universe. On one side, the glorious Bosphorus; on the other, the Sea of Marmora; in the far distance, the mountains of Bithynia, and the snow-crowned summit of Mount Olympus; in front, Scutari, the ancient Chrysopolis, with its melancholy-looking cypress-groves; then Kadikeui, the ancient Chalcedon; and, nearer, the beautiful panorama from Seraglio Point, past the Sublime Porte, the mosques of Saint Sophia, of Sultans Achmet, Bajaset, Soleyman, and Mahmoud, the tower of the Seraskeriat, the ruined aqueduct to Eyoub, and the dark cypresses of "the place of a thousand tombs." Yes! it is a charming scene. To see Constantinople, however, you should enter the Golden Horn from the Sea of Marmora, steam up the Bosphorus, and out by the Black Sea. Then, the remembrance of its beauty will remain for ever like a dream that cannot be forgotten. But once place your foot on shore, and the illusion vanishes. You see the Turks, you see ill-paved and ill-lighted streets; you see filth, corruption, and decay. Look at the country itself, and what will you behold? You will behold its mountain ranges covered with forests, fitted for all the purposes of modern trade, totally unutilized; its

vast mineral resources of coal, iron, copper, and lea as well as the ores of many of the more valuab metals, lying dormant and unheeded; its fertile plai and genial slopes, in many districts, untilled and fi low; its splendid waterfalls expending their force seething foam, instead of contributing to the necessiti of modern civilization; its rivers "snagged;" i harbours what nature made them; its roads but t tracks over which pass, with difficulty, the donkey a the camel. Mr. Arnold, late editor of *The Echo*, in h *Letters from the Levant*, thus expresses his opinion the future of Turkey:—"I have no patience," says, "with that cynical obstinacy, which, witho examination, lauds Mahommedan practices as more ju than those of Christian countries. If I had to choo between dealing with Christians or Turks in Stambo unhesitatingly I would prefer the Moslem as general the more honest and straightforward. But if I had make choice between the Christian and the Jew, would for the same reason prefer the Christian. Wh does this prove? Certainly not that Mahommedanis is better than Christianity; but rather that the lord Turk, in his long-assured mastery, is not forced to t debasing expedients which have become ingrain upon the character of the subject Christian, and t Jew, still longer the object of oppression. That t Turk is a deeply religious creature, there can be n doubt; fanatical he is, or his power in Europe wou be gone. So far, his presence in Europe is not due

the jealousies of his Christian neighbours; it is owing to the religious bond which gives such unity and strength to a warlike race, who are a small minority in their own dominions. Upon the coldest and most dispassionate examinations, it may be proved that Mahommedanism is not so good a system for promoting civilization, which is individual development, as Christianity; mainly because the first denies a true democracy by instituting moral differences of sex, and the latter acknowledges a true democracy by inculcating the equality and similar responsibility of all, without distinction, except in reference to the accidental advantages of circumstance and opportunity. Therefore it is that I sorrow for the idle folly of the task we, in bygone times, have set ourselves,—that of maintaining the Turkish rule in Europe. The time is not far distant when, with or without our leave and pleasure, it will fall unregretted by those who believe with me that the most ignoble victories in the world's history are those patched up by self-interested diplomacy."

The picture that Turkey presents to-day is, probably, the most melancholy that history records. A country unequalled in the world for its natural wealth, with thousands of acres of its best soil untilled, its forests unproductive, its minerals unworked; without a carriage road, or canal, or navigable river in the Empire; with a people—honest, patient, and laborious—in one province, dying in thousands from famine and disease, and, in another, fighting for liberty and life,

against an oppression no longer to be endured; wit a Monarch and a Government centralized at Constant nople, utterly regardless of the widespread miser they have produced; with an accumulation of foreig debt which precludes all hope for the future; wit a sensuous and corrupt oligarchy, whose princip thought is that of enriching themselves at the expen of the State; and with a crowd of Armenian usurer at the capital and in the provinces, who pander to th corruption and peculation of the Turkish functionari because by such means they themselves become mi lionaires. And now the Turkish Ministers come befo the world and are not ashamed to tell the creditors c Turkey that they have squandered the vast sum which have been so generously advanced, that they hav done nothing to develop the resources of the countr and that they are bankrupt in credit and in honour.

There is an Arabic proverb which says that "If Turk could even excel in the knowledge of ever science, barbarism would still remain inherent in h nature," and this is as true to-day as it was for hundred years ago. I do not, as I have already sai mean to assert that the Mussulmans have no aptitud for civilization.* The Moslem peasant possesses man

* It may be interesting, at the present moment, to know t opinion of the Turks themselves on this subject. The *Terakk*, Turkish paper, published in Stamboul, says:—"Although it is n surprising that in Europe those papers which are hostile to Turk or ignorant of its condition should represent Turkey as out of t

natural virtues, and to include the whole Mussulman population in the charges brought against Turkish

pale of civilization, it is surprising that the Turks should condescend to accept the ideas of their enemies or of ignorant people, and think Turkey not in a state of civilization; and therefore we cannot be silent on the subject. Oh, Turks! be assured you are perfectly within the circle of civilized people. 'Civilization' is derived from the word 'city,' and city means a place holding a number of settled inhabitants; therefore the word city is the mirror of all the good qualities requisite for the existence and preservation of the community of a city. If a nation have the requisite conditions for living as a community, it is civilized. If a nation has a religion directing men to help one another, a system and laws showing what things every person may do and what he must avoid; if it strive after a state in which the rights of persons and of property are regarded, travellers respected, the weak and the poor protected, and women and children cared for, and if it see to the burial of its progenitors with due honours—that nation has the conditions of civilization. Well, Turks! behold, in these respects, we can assure you no nation is above you. If any one maintain the opposite of this, you can tell him he does not know what civilization is. Civilization must not be confounded with sciences, arts, and machinery. Certainly, arts, sciences, and machines are desirable powers, but whereas these are only material powers or mere tools, civilization is the collection of human excellences. In olden times the Greeks did not know of the steam-engine, nor of the power of electricity, but they were more civilized than the present Greeks and most nations of Europe. The Russians have more machines and implements than the Turks, that is to say, their material forces are greater; but as regards civilization the Turks are very superior. Turks! if the Europeans talk about civilization, you can hold your heads up, for civilization is a state causing pride and honour such as yours is."

officials would be as unjust as the imputation would be false. The poor Mussulman, fanaticism apart, is honest and truthful; the Mussulman private soldier is brave, but the rich Turk is always an oppressor. Mr Blunt, who was for twenty years Consul at Salonica says:—"The poorer, the humbler a Turk is, the better he is; as he mixes with the world, and as he gets money and power, he deteriorates. In the lowest class, I have sometimes found truth, honesty, and gratitude; in the middle class, seldom; in the highest never." What progress, however, can be hoped from a people who live under such a Government as that which rules at Constantinople? How can civilization advance under an empire which, in the place of free will, substitutes fatality, and creates blind resignation governing every act of life into a fixed and fundamental dogma? What can be expected from a religion which represents war against infidels as *par excellence* a holy work; hatred of the stranger as a duty, and all treaties or engagements entered into with non-Mussulmans as acts not binding on the conscience? A race bound by such brutal and monstrous doctrines is necessarily doomed to isolation, to immobility, and to death. If any one doubts this truth, let him read history, and see the populous and flourishing state of Egypt, of Syria, of Mesopotamia, of Asia Minor, and of Greece, before their occupation by the Turks, and see what these countries are now. Monuments of former grandeur in ruins; canals and rivers obstructed; industry, com-

merce, arts, literature, all have disappeared. "Wherever the Turk's foot treads," says an old Arabic proverb, "there the grass withers," and under the shade of the Crescent the land has become a desert. In the time of the Venetians, Cyprus possessed a population of one million, whereas now it contains only one hundred and eighty thousand. The Pashalic of Damascus, which extends, north to south, from Hamah on the Orontes down to the deserts of Arabia Petrœa, south-east of the Dead Sea—a length of about four degrees of latitude—is capable of supporting a population of six millions of souls, whereas, at present, the population is not more than five hundred thousand. Turkey in Asia contains only a population of sixteen millions and fifty thousand, giving but 23·8 to the square mile; while in many parts of European Turkey, not one-fourth part of the land is brought under cultivation. It is impossible that this state of things can continue to exist, and that the Christians of Turkey should be doomed for ever to sterility and despair. They are bound, as Earl Russell says, to a "cadavre," for the Sick Man is now dying, and past all hope of recovery. You may galvanize a corpse, but you cannot restore it to life.

In most countries, the higher offices of the State are given to those who are believed to be the most worthy. If we look over Europe, at the present moment, we will see that this fact is incontestable. There is Lord Derby in England, the Duc Decazés in

France, Prince Gortschakoff in Russia, Prince Bismarck in Germany, and Count Andrassy in Austria. In Turkey, on the contrary, we have Mahmoud Pasha, a man who can neither read nor write any language but his own,* and who, by his ignorance and fanaticism, has brought his country to bankruptcy and ruin. When Mahmoud attained the high position of Grand Vizier, on the death of A'ali Pasha, in September 1871, he immediately set about degrading every Minister who had served his predecessor. Some he exiled; all he dismissed, not sparing even the son of A'ali Pasha, his own benefactor, who was ignominiously expelled from his office in the *Hardjïe*. In August, 1872, Mahmoud, after a draconian rule of eleven months, fell from power, amidst the execrations of the populace, who hooted him under the windows of his palace on the Bosphorus; and yet he is again Grand Vizier. Every one in the least tainted as a reformer was tabooed. And now the men who rule the destinies of the empire owe their positions solely to the fact that they represent the old Turkish party, inspired by the Ulema and the Dervishes. The Turks esteem the ignorant fanatic more than the advanced

* Mahmoud Pasha is, probably, the only Turkish Minister who does not speak French; but the Turks, generally, are not good linguists. "Les Turcs," says the Chevalier de Scherzer, "ne comprennent, en général, que leur propre langue, tandis que toutes les autres races de l'Empire Ottoman en parlent au moins deux. Ce tient d'abord au dédain qu'ils ont pour tout ce qui n'est pas Turc, puis à leur indolence."

reformer; and the caprice of the Sultan, or of his Ministers, or the intrigues of the Harem, induced by backsheesh, can raise to the highest dignities men who would not be selected for a junior clerkship in our Foreign Office. When Essad Pasha, owing to some favouritism of the Harem, was, two years ago, raised to the Grand Vizierat, he found himself so totally unsuited for the position, that, after two or three months of power, he was obliged to beg the Sultan to relieve him of his functions. "If," says Prince Pitzipios, "we were to take a hundred individuals amongst the men invested with the highest positions in the State, we would find, with few exceptions, that they all obtained their posts by the caprice and the shameful passions of those who preside over the destinies of the nation."

In Turkey it is favouritism that rules, caprice that governs, incapacity that administers. Under the empire of the Crescent, to govern is to plunder and oppress. The evils are well known, but it is difficult to apply a remedy, because the entire empire is tainted with corruption. The Sultan, himself, is imbued with the same prejudices and the same faults as the nation, and he possesses neither the experience nor the education, which, in other parts of Europe, we find in the Sovereigns of even the smallest States. In former times, the Ottoman Princes enjoyed perfect liberty, and the government of important provinces was confided to them. They often, it is true, raised the

standard of revolt, and, in consequence, Soleyman called the Great, promulgated, in the sixteenth century a law of the empire, according to which they were precluded from being invested with any command, and were doomed to pass their lives in the seraglio. This law, no doubt, saved the empire from many revolutions, but it inaugurated the reign of weak, debauched and inexperienced Sultans.

According to Mussulman Law, the eldest male member of the House of Othman ascends the throne upon the death of a Sultan. This law possesses the advantage of preventing a regency during the minority of a boy, but its strict observance has been frequently evaded, and in a manner peculiar to the Turks, as the new Sultan generally caused all his male relatives to be put to death. Even the male child of a female member of the family was not allowed to live. When Mahommed III. ascended the throne, he caused his nineteen brothers to be strangled, and the first act of Mahmoud II., the father of the present Sultan, was the murder of his brother. On the day after the accession of Mahmoud II., thirty-three heads were exposed on the gate of the seraglio, and, lest any of the women of his predecessor's harem should be *enceinte*, he ordered them all, to the number of eight hundred, to be sewn up in leathern sacks and cast into the Bosphorus.* According to precedent, the

* One of the most remarkable sights on the Bosphorus is that of the clouds of birds which fly constantly backwards and forth

present Sultan ought to have been strangled thirty-five years ago, but Abdul-Medjid, who was of a merciful temperament, spared his brother, and allowed him to live. Brought up, however, in the harem, under the guidance of a Khodja deputed by the Ulema, he ascended the throne, on the death of Abdul-Medjid, utterly ignorant of the affairs of State, and imbued with all the prejudices and fanaticism of his teachers. When I was first in Constantinople, in 1860, Aziz Effendi was the hope of the old Turkish party, and, since his accession, he has but too well verified their aspirations. Fuad and A'ali had made for themselves too strong a position to be easily overthrown; but they were constantly thwarted in their desires for reform, and Fuad died, as he says in his letter from Nice, "broken under the weight of his responsibilities," while A'ali, as every one knows, died, two years later,

wards, between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora. These singular birds fly rapidly, and in perfect stillness, from the Euxine to the Propontis, where they instantly turn and wend their way back to the Black Sea; arrived there, they wheel again, and return to the Sea of Mamora; and thus, from day-dawn till twilight, from day to day, and from month to month, they come and go along the channel without any apparent end or aim—without an instant's repose, without food, and without the slightest deviation from their course. No instance of one of these birds having been picked up dead has ever occurred; and so mysterious and unearthly are their habits, that they have obtained the appellation of the "damned souls." They are, in fact, believed to be the souls of the women and children that have been drowned in the Bosphorus!

of a broken heart. The rule of the old Turkish party represented by Mahmoud Pasha, is now known to the world, and it has culminated in bankruptcy and ruin.

There is scarcely a page in Turkish history that might not be written in characters of blood, and the fanatic Turk is the same to-day as he has ever been. The Christians of Syria, of Greece, of Bosnia, of Servia, of Roumania, and Bulgaria, have impressed upon their hearts the records of the sufferings and the shame which their fathers bore, and they seek but the opportunity to cast off for ever the tyranny that oppresses them. The Bosniaks do not forget the treatment their ancestors experienced at the hands of Mahommed II. when, in 1463, their king capitulated. The king of Bosnia and his people were, by treaty, promised their lives and property on payment of a stipulated tribute; but no sooner were the keys of the capital delivered up, than the inhabitants were ruthlessly massacred. The Skeikh, Ali-Bestami, issued a *fetwa* declaring that the sworn treaty was null and void, as having been made with Christians, it was contrary to the Law of the Prophet; and, in an excess of fanaticism he himself performed the office of executioner, and the head of the king fell beneath his sword. History records the famous defence of Famagûsta when besieged by the Turks in 1571. The heroic commander, Marcantonio Bragadino, capitulated, under a promise of safety for himself and his garrison, but as soon as he was

the power of Mustapha Pasha, the latter ordered him to be flayed alive in the market-place, and carried his skin, stuffed with straw, at the yard-arm of the ship in which he returned to Constantinople. Every page of Turkish history is filled with accounts of similar atrocities, and similar breaches of faith, towards the Christians. A French historian says, in speaking of the Grand Vizier, Nacouh Pasha, that "il faisait égorger les Chrétiens aussi aisément que l'on tue les poules ou que l'on brise du verre." Mr. Tricoupi, in his *History of the Greek Revolution*, relates the following story of the massacre of Christians in Cyprus:—"Upon the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821, full permission was given by the Porte to Kouchuk Mehemet, the mutesellim of Cyprus, to kill all the Christians whom he might consider worthy of death, and, to strengthen his position, the Pasha of Acre was ordered to despatch troops to the island. In justice to the mutesellim, it must be said that personally he wished to use very lightly the power of life and death with which he had been entrusted, but not so the principal Turkish subjects who composed his council. They urged the most extravagant excesses, and threatened to hold the mutesellim responsible if disaster happened to them from non-execution, in the fullest way, of the orders of the Porte. Accordingly, after 4000 troops had arrived from Acre, the governor invited the bishops and chief Christians to Nicosia, on the pretence that, in view of

the insurrection of their co-religionists in Greece, i was necessary that they should make a declaration t the Porte of their loyalty to the throne of the Sultan This declaration the mutesellim promised to suppor in the most favourable way. Having thus enticed t Nicosia the bishops and chiefs of the Christian popula tion, he threw off the mask. Without having receive the slightest provocation, on the 9th of July, 1821, h hung the archbishop on a tree in front of the palac gate, and beheaded the three bishops and several o the chief Christians, leaving their bodies expose during several days. The work of slaughter thus begu by the governor, continued throughout the islan during thirty days, and Tricoupi states that "no le than 200 persons fell victims to their bloodthirst enemies." The mere recital of the horrible barbariti of the Turks towards the Christians would alone fi many volumes. Some persons may say that these a but the records of former times, and that the Turk now more civilized. But such is not the case, as th massacres of Scio, of Syria, and of Crete, as well a the cruelties now being perpetrated in the Herz govina, fully testify. The Turk is the same as he h ever been, fanatical and brutal, and it is time, as M Brassey says, that "the Sultans should return Broussa, the place whence they originally came, or some other suitable spot, if any such exist, in Asiat Turkey."

CHAPTER IV.

TURKISH ADMINISTRATION.

THE utter hopelessness of the regeneration of Turkey is evident from the simple fact that the entire body politic is rotten from the head to the extremities. The great art of government appears to be all for self, and nothing for the country. Every one enrolled among the privileged brotherhood that prey upon the people, is permitted to do as he pleases, and men, without any regard to their qualifications, are promoted to the highest offices of the State. Menials of wealthy Pashas are preferred to provincial and district governments, or other civil posts; but before they have time to study, even were they so inclined, the character, exigencies, and resources of the people and the country to which they are sent, or to learn the duties of their office, they are removed, disgraced, or promoted, as the case may be, to some new service, with an entire disregard to fitness, character, or education. A state of utter confusion prevails in every provincial administration, for no one knows the duties he is appointed to perform, while each new arrival has always a system peculiarly his own,

diversified at times by some special instructions from his chiefs, or from Constantinople. The first aim of the governor of a province is to undo everything that has been done by his predecessor, and the second is to amass a fortune as speedily as possible. He knows that his tenure of office may be short, and, having neither patriotism nor honour, he goes in for plunder. He is at Salonica to-day, to-morrow he may be at Beyrout. The future prosperity of the former is, therefore, of little consequence to him, and, accordingly, he sells justice to the highest bidder, so that he may be able to bribe the officials at the Porte. The disease which has eaten into the vitals of Turkey is widely spread, being rooted in the highest ranks of official life, and thence progressing in intensity to the lowest functionaries. It cannot be supposed that subordinate agents will be guided otherwise than by the example of those around and immediately above them, and it is absurd to believe that, when the higher State functionaries are not imbued with more elevated notions of their respective duties and moral responsibilities, any hope of improvement among the lower can be expected.

The Turkish empire is divided into vilayets or governments-general, each of which is administered by a Pasha, who is nominated by the Porte. These vilayets are again divided into Sandjaks, governed by Kaïmakams, or Lieutenant-governors. The Sandjaks are subdivided into Kazas, or districts, placed

under the rule of Mudirs, who frequently hold their appointment from the Governor-general, and the Kazas, again, are divided into Nahizéhs, composed of villages or hamlets.*

The Mudirliks, many of which are without any fixed emoluments, and dependent upon precarious legal fees to render them remunerative, are nevertheless eagerly solicited, and are among the numerous sources of wealth which official position is heir to in Turkey. The nomination is usually left to the choice of provincial governors, subject to approval by the authorities at Constantinople; but it is supposed to be biased by the wishes of the population of each subdivision, when expressed by Mansar, or memorial. This, however, is frequently defeated, if ever attained, as the Mudirlik, ostensibly the award of popular suffrage, is only too often the recompense of successful bribery and intrigue. For instance, a few of the most influential men of a Kaza nominate one of their party for the Muderlik; a Mansar, or memorial is got up in his favour, to which the bulk of the population is forced to subscribe, and this memorial, backed by sundry douceurs, procures the appointment. In plain language, the place is sold; and the amount paid must necessarily constitute a tax, to be got back in some shape or other from the local population. Once confirmed in his post, the Mudir cannot be arbitrarily re-

* For many of the facts contained in this chapter, I am indebted to a resident of upwards of forty years in Turkey.

moved by the Governor-general, without sufficie cause being shown; but although it would be easy procure evidence of the kind required, transgressio of the law, or neglect of duty, by public servants a more frequently overlooked than punished, from t facility with which plenary indulgences for su offences may be purchased. The Mudir's functio are purely executive, and he is responsible for the d transmission of the revenue when collected; thou this branch of his duties is in most cases transferred a Saraff, or banker, who is usually one among the who have contributed to his nomination. Under the circumstances, it may be readily imagined that t Mudir is frequently a mere tool in the hands of party, and his weakness and ignorance, constituti perhaps his strongest recommendation to office, cont bute, when once invested with his new dignity, to mal him the cipher contemplated by his supporters. Hol ing the executive power, he is necessarily responsib for all official acts of oppression within the Kaza; b if, as is invariably the case, the Medjlis, or loc council, be with him, that body is ever ready to sancti his proceedings, and shield them by opportune Ma batas and gilded arguments, if, by any chance, th should be questioned by his superiors. The Mudi by virtue of his office, presides at the Medjlis, or loc administrative council, which, besides the Cadi, legal authority, and the Mufti, or priest, who is co sulted on religious points, includes two or more Az

or deputies of the Christain faith, if the resident number duly qualify them for the privilege.

The Porte, after the peace of Paris, consented to the appointment of Christian assessors in the Medjlis, or local courts, but this has been carried out only in form. Mr. Consul Calvert says:—"As to the Christian members, they take their seats at the Medjlis as a matter of form, but dare not dissent from an opinion emitted by the Mussulman members. I hear that, some years back, the Christian member of the Medjlis at Monastir was poisoned for opposing his Mussulman colleagues. Christians are admitted into the local councils, but they are so few in number compared with Mussulman members as to be completely overawed, and therefore practically useless. They blindly affix their seals to the 'Mazbattas' (reports or decisions), which are written in Turkish,—a language they can rarely read; and even were they to understand what was written, they would scarcely venture to refuse to confirm it, although they might inwardly dissent from the purport of the document." Only the other day, the local Medjlis at Mostar, in Herzegovina, was called on to sign a memorial to the Porte in favour of the present Turkish administration. The Christian members were presented the memorial, written in Turkish, for signature, with the assurance that it was in reference to the administration of the hospitals; but, made wary by experience, they insisted on examining the document, and, finding what it was,

they declined signing it, and were both dismissed from the Medjlis. So much for the Turkish idea of independence of the councils.*

The Medjlis is consulted twice a week, for the discussion of local affairs, to receive complaints, and to judge all causes brought before it. Its fiat is not decisive, as the Mudir may on his own responsibility refuse to execute its decisions. Nevertheless, the council is of great local importance; its members possess immense influence within their respective districts, and, under a corrupt and weak Government, must naturally all lean one way. Their whole study, with rare exceptions, is to decide, not on the justice and sanctity of the causes brought before them, or with reference to the general welfare of the community, but how they can best advance their own private interests, and escape clear of the intrigues that are constantly in movement around them. Supported by his council, the Mudir can act boldly; without the executive at command, the influence of the council would dwindle down to zero. Their interests being thus mutually blended, the Medjlis of each Kaza, with the addition of a few non-official men of weight, constitutes a camirilla, and holds in its hands the whole power, deliberative, judicial, financial, and executive, of the district.

The Cadi is named by the Sheikh-ul-Islam, or chief

* See *The Times* of November 11, 1875. Letter from special correspondent at Mostar.

of the Ulema,* and can only be dismissed or removed by the same dignitary. At the Mékémé, or justice court, taking cognizance exclusively of suits judged by the Sherèät, or old law, he presides and decides summarily, giving his Elam, or sentence, in writing. At the Medjlis which has jurisdiction on all cases indiscriminately, whether within the Sherèät or of the Canon, the Cadi sits as local legal authority, subject to the correction of the Mufti, or such other member as from his position is conversant with the law; and the governor or president of the council is bound to execute the sentence pronounced. Appeal, in the first instance, lies at the governor's, or provincial, court; but litigants may at once demur to a local trial, and demand to have their case heard by the superior tribunal. Such appeals, however, inevitably entail considerable expense, and it is only in cases of urgency that the risk is incurred. The Cadi usually joins the dominant party in the Kaza, for to oppose it, when allied with the executive, would reduce him to a cipher, and sweep off most of his fees,

* The Ulema may be looked upon as a species of Mussulman hierarchy. It is divided into two classes, the one clerical, and the other legal. To the former belong the Muftis (bishops), Imaums (priests), etc., while in the latter, which is again subdivided into three subdivisions, are included the Cazi-askers (chief judges), the Mollahs (judges) of the principal and second-rate cities, and the Cadis, judges of the small towns and rural districts. Each ought to have gone through a course of learning at one of the Medresses, or schools, of Constantinople,

or other precarious emoluments, as little or no attention would be paid to his decisions, which, when not evaded, under numerous pretences, by the Medjlis, would be unenforced by the executive. The natural consequence, then, would be that few cases would be brought before his special tribunal, the Mékémé. On the other hand, to be perpetually at variance with the legal authority of the place would be highly inconvenient to the dominant party, and might occasionally give trouble, by preventing many of their iniquitous deeds having a legal stamp upon them. Their mutual interests, therefore, attract them towards each other. Frequently, too, the ignorance and moral weakness of the Mudir allows the Cadi, with his superior endowments, to gain the ascendancy, and, with the valuable co-operation of the Medjlis, his power is then unbounded, and his means of acquiring wealth is restricted only by his conscience and the resources of the population. "A Pasha," says Mr. Consul Abbot "may be honest, but his Kehaya or Intendent is venal, and then the inhabitants have to suffer from the rapacity of a man whose advice has so much deliberative power with the Pasha, who, perhaps indolent and weak, allows himself to be influenced by an unprincipled official in whom he has entire confidence. Then come next the Beys, who sit in the Medjlis. Natives of the place where they hold their office, and with great local interests to protect, they connive, for a trifle, at illegal acts, if, by doing so

their interests are in any way promoted, and hence affix their seals to decisions which have not the slightest particle of justice."

The Azas, or Christian deputies, having a deliberative voice in the Medjlis, are ostensibly elected by the Ayans, or primates of the district towns and villages, but they have only a voice in affairs relating to their respective sects and constituents. In many if not most Kazas, these auxiliary deputies of the heterodox faith simply crouch to the wishes of their Turkish masters, and are happy in being allowed to pick up the crumbs falling from their oppressors' table. Every Mahala (division or parish of a town) and every village in the Kaza chooses one or more Ayans, or primates, whose province it is to look after the general affairs of their respective Mahalas, or villages, to attend the Medjlis when required to collect the taxes, and to pay them over to the Saraff, or other officer appointed to receive them. His office is usually a very ungrateful one, and would in most instances be refused, were it possible to do so without risk of incurring the displeasure of his superiors. It is not only attended by much trouble, vexation, and loss of time, but, on the slightest pretext, he is imprisoned, ill-treated, and fleeced; for, though the Ayan is not legally responsible for fiscal arrears in his locality, nor for the conduct and good behaviour of his neighbours, he, nevertheless, frequently incurs the penalty. Beyond his

circumscribed functions, he is for the most part a cipher in the Kaza, and with little influence, although generally selected from those of most substance in the community, by whose authority it is supposed he was elected.

The Ayans elect the Azas, or deputies, and are ostensibly independent in their choice. It is a nominal right, however, which they dare not vindicate. When called upon for their suffrage, they tamely follow the orders of the dominant party, and frequently exalt by their votes the person most dreaded and disliked, and who, perhaps, is most hostile to the interest of the community. The elections both of the Azas and Ayans is a mere sham, and it would probably puzzle most rural officials were they called on to explain the process required by law. No meeting is, as a matter of fact, convoked, nor does any election really take place. An individual is fixed upon by one or two of the magnates, his name whispered about, and it is assumed, as no one dares to question the propriety of the choice, that it is the result of general approbation. The same system prevails in the provincial courts; although in some, especially such as are immediately exposed to European criticism, an outward show of independence is awkwardly attempted.

No registry is kept, either of the discussions or decisions of the Medjlis, although such record of its acts is required by law. Hence two similar cases will frequently be decided differently, according to the

interests to be decided by them. A decision at one sitting is not unfrequently revoked or denied at another, and the most flagrant injustice is thus constantly committed with impunity, without the remotest chance of reprimand or punishment. The decisions of the Medjlis may be referred to the higher provincial court, which, similarly constituted, affords little hope of redress. These appeals, nevertheless, are by no means of rare occurrence, and are encouraged by the provincial courts, as forming an important item of their emoluments. As the recognition of the legal claims of the weaker party would expose the other to severe castigation or disgrace for shameful dereliction of duty, so each party to a suit habitually prosecutes or defends his cause by the preliminary precaution of purchasing protection among the various members in power; and, naturally, the more wealthy of the litigants invariably carries the day, and crowns his triumph by the incarceration or reprimand of his ruined victim.

In theory, the elective principle is at the basis of the whole administrative system, and it would be difficult to imagine one more suited to the habits of the various classes and creeds for whose government and protection it was originally devised. Its influence for good, however, is entirely set at naught by the corruption and venality existing at the seat of government itself which sanctions the grossest oppression and injustice. Enslaved by those whom the theory of the

constitution had placed in the position of protectors, the peasantry have learned to submit; and those chosen from amongst them to fulfil the duties of guardians of the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects, yield through fear to the orders of the governors. The judicial office, consequently, is everywhere prostituted, and the interests of the people are cruelly sacrificed.

The chief sources of revenue which the Porte possesses, besides the Customs imports, are the tithe or tenth in produce, the Roussoumiats, or Miris, which comprehend excise and other local dues of various kinds, and the Saliané, or property-tax. The two former are farmed, and frequently pass through several hands, ere they are resold or sublet in lots to district buyers, and paid for by instalments at specified periods. These buyers necessarily take their chance of the result, and, besides the assistance of the authorities, are legally allowed guards to assist in the collection and assessment. The Salguin, or Saliané, and other fixed contributions are collected by the Mudirs or their Saraffs; and whenever any modification is made in the aggregate amount portioned off to each district, the Medjlis regulates its repartition among the Mahalas and villages, the Ayans, or elders, redistributing it among individuals. When, as is usually the case, the tithe-farmer and Mirigee, backed by the Mudir and Saraff, combine with the Cadi and Medjlis, it may be easily conceived what powerful destructive engine

may be brought to bear upon a hapless peasantry. In fact, it is the same dismal story throughout the country; the whole art and science of rural administrators being to ring the changes upon the various State dues, and to tax ingenuity in devising new and patent modes of fleecing the people.

In order to give some conception of the manner in which these functionaries fulfil their duties, and contribute by their rapacity and cunning to the difficulties and suffering of the agrarian classes, the following example may not be uninteresting.

A new Miri of 8½ piastres per cantar on olive oil was some time ago proclaimed in the Sandjak of Aidin, causing much discontent, especially in those parts of the Sandjak which produced in the greatest abundance this important article of commerce. Perplexed as to the best mode of representing their case to the Divan, the peasantry of one of those Kazas, after much deliberation, decided on sending a deputation to wait upon the Cadi, to solicit his advice on the course they should pursue. On the weekly market-day, when the villagers in the provinces pay their hebdomadal visits to the town, six or seven of their number accordingly proceeded to the Mékémé, accompanied by some anxious women, who with their children remained outside, waiting the issue of what to them was a most important conference. The members of the deputation were selected from among the more respectable of the villagers, and their deportment in the

presence of the Cadi was every way becoming, an consistent with the respect due to the judicial au thority of the place. On stating their case, and bein assured by the Cadi that he could do nothing fo them, they determined, as no mitigation of the ta could be obtained, to lay their grievances personall before the Porte; they, therefore, inquired whethe teskérets, or passports, would be granted. An answe in the negative was the result, and they were di missed with the recommendation of renewed appea This interview was not very satisfactory to the judg nor to his brother who was present, and whose risin indignation was with difficulty suppressed, as th revelations of the villagers, although nothing nove told of the hardships and oppression the tax entails upon the district. No sooner, however, was the con ference ended, than the brother and his servant, arme with courbashes, proceeded to the gate of the Mékém and attempted to forcibly drive off the women an children clamouring around it; but, infuriated b blows, and exasperated by the insulting language th accompanied them, the women betook themselves to th only defensive weapons within reach, stones and curse The gates were instantly closed, and the guard perched upon the walls and balconies, were order to fire upon the helpless crowd of women and childre and a few unarmed peasants, who forthwith disperse No sooner was this done, than the guards, elated b the success of their prowess, sallied forth, yataghi

in hand, cutting and slashing away among the defeated foe. Many were severely wounded, and several reported killed, though, as customary in Turkish towns, such ill-timed rumours were speedily stifled and contradicted. In consequence, however, of this unwarrantable brutality being bruited about, the Governor-general of the Sandjak was obliged to order the authorities to his presence; whereupon, the affair being investigated and the foregoing facts elicited, exemplary punishment was judged expedient; but, instead of falling upon the guilty, to the surprise of every one, and owing to the eloquence of some 130 or 140 purses, a verdict, vindicating the law by the reprimand and imprisonment of the innocent, was returned. The plea set up in extenuation of such a strange perversion of justice, was that, however deplorable the necessity of criminating the people, it would be a direct violation of the domestic policy of the Porte, and a pernicious example to the country, publicly to punish and censure official functionaries at the instigation of the vulgar herd. The real fact, however, was that the Miri had been farmed by the privileged junta. As the Mudir and Medjlis had given the Cadi full authority, and a lion's share in all the perquisites and pickings to be made out of it, he had every interest in the maintenance of a tax possessed of such productive qualifications, and which was taken indiscriminately both from buyer and seller.

The Salguin, or Saliané, the most important of the

fixed taxes of the country, is levied upon property and is supposed to be assessed upon the annual gro income derived from real estate. It would be difficul perhaps, for any one in the Empire precisely to defi on what data the provincial distributions were orig nally made; and it may be doubted whether any suc innovation as a fair and equitable assessment throug out the land has ever been attempted. A certai amount of Salguin is arbitrarily levied by the Por upon a Sandjak, and portioned out among th dependent districts, apparently without regard t their capabilities, population, or resources. Ea Kaza must provide its stipulated amount of tribut which, distributed by the Mudir and authoriti among the town mahalas and villages, are re-di tributed by the Ayans and elders among individua and families, under the final supervision of th Medjlis, which exercises a controlling power ov the whole. From what has already been said the power of the Medjlis, and its collateral or no official members, it may be taken for granted that t poor and powerless are compelled, in a great measu to pay the share of the wealthy as well as their ow Suppose, for example, the sum of 36,000 piastres be the apportioned quota of any particular villa and that the mean annual gross value returned rural estate, plantations, &c., to be 300,000 piastr it follows that the ratio of the tax would be 12 p cent. But it may be that some of the olive-tre

mulberry, or vines, mill-streams, warehouses, or lands —say one-twelfth—or 25,000 piastres, belong to absentees, or parties resident in other districts, or they may pertain to persons of rank and influence at the capital or elsewhere. Their property will be excluded, the universal plea of being already assessed in their own Kaza will exonerate them, and the ratio upon the residential proprietary will be proportionately augmented. Again, another and no mean portion will belong to members of the Medjlis, to the Ayans and Azas, who by virtue of their office are exempt; let us suppose this to be equal to one-sixth, or 50,000 piastres. Then some of the trees, some of the land, buildings, and so forth, are Vacouf, or belong to the Church, and pass free; if we say one-twelfth, or 25,000 piastres, for these, the final ratio upon the village and peasantry will remain at 18 per cent., provided that their property has not been overvalued. There are other incidental modes of distribution, by which local notables may further diminish their own quotas, such as levying part of the tax on artisans, shopkeepers, &c.; as an instance of which, some labourers in European employ, who did not own a piastre's worth of property of any kind, were each assessed in 150 piastres for Salguins, by which they would have been mulcted of one-twelfth or one-sixteenth of their annual wages, were it not that their employers disputed the right, and succeeded in having the demand cancelled.

Much of the tangible and fixed productive property of a village, such as olive and fig trees, vineyards, arable and meadow land, &c., is but nominally owned by villagers, the title-deeds being lodged, for principal and interest on running debts, with usurers, who transfer the produce into their own stores, whilst the nominal proprietor, who, with his family, has devoted his toil and time to raise it, will go to prison for arrears of taxes. Such, however, is the tenacity exhibited by the peasant proprietary for their land, that they will undergo any privation, and submit to any sacrifice, in order to retain possession. Many families, inextricably in debt, prefer a nominal proprietorship, and all the hardships and inconveniences to which it is exposed in Turkish rural districts, to the alternative of dispossession.

As punctuality in the transmission of all local contributions is the grand test of a Governor's capabilities, so, provided the imperial exchequer is not kept in arrears, it matters little what may be his other qualifications for the post. The Mudir, therefore, or his fiscal substitute, has pretty much *carte blanche*, and the unfortunate peasant, taxed by the central Government, and cheated by its *employés*, is obliged to submit, or incur all the risk which springs from opposition. Should, however, he sue for redress, in the hope that from the administrators of the law he will at least obtain the semblance of justice, what is the treatment in store for him? With the presen-

tation of a memorial to the Vicegerent's Court, he gives utterance to his complaints. It is received, and from the manner of its reception redress appears more than probable. The requisite information is obtained, and the whole bearing of the question apparently sifted. Thus the poor peasant is lured on to ruin and despair. His steps are speedily followed by the never-failing Mazbata,* kept back and laid aside to play its part at the *dénouement*. His accusation made, he must enter into bonds for the consequences. The Mudir, or offending party, is sent for, and the first fruits may be a good slice of the peasant's annual earnings for the Bombashee to bring him in. The Bombashee, arrived at his destination, honoured and *fêted*, cannot somehow prevail on any of the plaintiff's witnesses to accompany him; cautioned and forewarned, they deny all knowledge of the case. The Mudir and his subordinates already chuckle at the threatened discomfiture of the foe, although they lament over the preliminary cost of their expected victory. The peasant is dismayed at the altered tone in which he is now addressed; intimidated, he cannot speak, or if he does, it is in unconnected, confused language, that only aggravates the case against him. The defendants, armed with numerous witnesses, and the foreknowledge of triumph, heap horrors on the

* The Mazbata is a petition against an individual or a grievance. It is seldom the voluntary result of independent action, but most frequently is obtained by threats, or through fear of the authorities.

head of their victim, who is thunderstruck at th accusations brought against him, and which the Maz bata now opportunely confirms. Perhaps some membe of the Medjlis feebly espouses his cause, to be over ruled by his colleagues; this is quite orthodox an regular. The case is dead against the plaintiff, wh is imprisoned for penalties inconsiderately incurred and punished for slandering his superiors. Such i the ordinary course of justice, diversified at times b the complainant's intention of appeal becoming known when it is summarily swamped by a course of priso and courbash that speedily brings him to his senses.

Even a Mussulman is not safe if he interfere o behalf of the peasant. Some time ago, a Mussulma of some substance in his district, who watched i moody silence over the perpetual illegalities practise on the people, was on one occasion suspected of havin been too communicative to the Dragoman of the Englis Consulate; and, under various pretences, he wa mulcted in some 30,000 or 40,000 piastres, the penalt of his supposed officiousness. Having expressed wish for local changes, or being reported to have don so, he was ordered into the Cadi's presence, repri manded for reflecting on his superiors, strictly enjoine to be more discreet in future; and was sworn to follo these injunctions, under duress of an oath of the mos serious import to a Moslem,—the Sart. Many day however, had not elapsed, ere he was again summone to the Mékémé, where suborned witnesses proved th

repetition of the offence. His wife was torn from him and sent back to her parents, while the unfortunate man himself was cast into prison.

In many sections of the country, the resident proprietary have been entirely stripped of all moveable capital, and have nothing remaining but the bare land, and the miserable roof that affords but nominal protection against the inclemencies of the weather; and these are also heavily encumbered by debt. Reduced to this pitiable state, the prosecution of their farming labours, by means of the ordinary method of raising funds, becomes impracticable. Another mode is then resorted to, which virtually converts them into the bondsmen or serfs of the usurers enriched by their prostration. The usurer, banker, or merchant, according to the title he may assume, enters into a stipulation with the elders of a village, whereby, for certain considerations, he engages to supply the villagers with funds and materials necessary for agricultural purposes. In thus constituting himself the village banker, he charges a monthly interest on his running account, and takes his reimbursement out of the produce raised, with the option, if the value of such produce exceeds the debt, of appropriating the whole at opening prices. Accordingly, he furnishes seed, provender, and all the materials for domestic and agricultural use, in kind, loaded with a premium of fifty to a hundred per cent. or more; and he advances the money which may, from time to time, be requisite for the payment of taxes and

other incidental claims, exacting the interest for eac
advance, at rates varying from two to five and six pe
cent. per month. To such a dependent state are th
farmers reduced, that they are even without oxen an
ploughs, which, in the ploughing season, are sold t
them by the banker for a stated sum, subject, of cours
to the monthly interest, and they are afterwards re
purchased at a fifth or sixth part of the amoun
When the crops are matured, and the villagers assem
ble to fix the opening prices, if the usurer remain
without a competitor,—as is usually the case, from th
circumstance of such engagements being known,—th
produce passes into his hands at so low a valuation
that it is impossible to discharge his claims; and thu
a portion of his advances remains in the form of
permanent debt, which enables him to impose mor
onerous conditions for the ensuing season. If com
petitors should offer for the produce, and threaten t
drive up the opening prices,—a circumstance tha
rarely happens,—he demands immediate restitution o
his advances, with the alternative of arrest and im
prisonment; and, what may appear incredible, h
actually possesses the power to imprison at once ever
male in the village. Unless, therefore, his rivals ar
themselves prepared to acquit the debt, their superio
offers are rejected, and they are compelled to retir
from the field. This is the more easy to enforce, a
the varied crops in Turkey being matured at differen
periods of the year, the value of ready produce, fo

which the casual buyer bids, will not cover the aggregate disbursements, or cancel the claims of the local banker. Thus the village debt is never liquidated, and varies in amount according as good or bad harvests predominate; the inevitable result follows that the whole of the fixed productive property eventually changes hands. In some Sandjaks, whole districts, and in others, detached villages are in this deplorable condition. Once entangled in the meshes of these usurers, the independence of the peasantry is irrevocably lost.

As an illustration of the manner in which the peasantry are cheated and plundered of their most valuable possessions, the following instance may be cited.

A farmer, who, a few years before, had been reputed wealthy in his Kasa, was peremptorily called upon for payment of a debt of 13,000 piastres. As he could not immediately raise the money, sundry farming and household necessaries were seized, and, being doubtlessly undervalued, passed into account for 4000 piastres; for the balance the unfortunate debtor was compelled to transfer his right to 360 of the finest olive-trees in the district, for which, immediately on possession, his creditor refused sixty piastres per tree, or 21,600 piastres for what barely cost him 9000! The estimated value of these trees when in full bearing condition, to which they were again approximating, was from 100 to 120 piastres each,

with the certain prospect of future enhancement, from the vast destruction of similar property in the previous winter.

Another example will illustrate what I have said. An industrious farmer was in sad perplexity about a debt of 21,000 piastres that had been long accumulating; the more he paid, the more the debt appeared to increase. A casual visitor in the district, an European, was induced to look into the accounts, and with great difficulty having stated an account between the parties, elicited therefrom the following facts:—The original debt of 2700 piastres had been advanced seven years before; during the interval the debtor had paid in various shapes 16,000 piastres, and was still indebted in a balance of 21,000 piastres, which the party who undertook to investigate the accounts succeeded in reducing to 9000! The account, it appeared, had been made up, and computed at monthly compound interest, repayable periodically in produce at fixed rates; but as it was clearly never the intention of the creditor to lose such a customer, part of the produce was periodically received, and part allowed to remain over, the difference between contract price and market value being regularly added to the debt.

It has often been observed that if the Rayahs are oppressed, so also are the Mussulmans. But this is only relatively true, for it is an undoubted fact that the irregularities of the tax and tithe collectors, the excesses of the police force, and the rapacities of the

Turkish officials are practised to a much greater extent, and with more barefacedness, on the Christian than on the Mussulman peasantry. "The Mussulman peasantry," says Mr. Consul Calvert, "are not so extensively imposed upon, because the superior chance which their complaints have of being listened to by a district government in which the element of their co-religionists preponderates, causes them to be regarded with greater respect. The Mussulman peasantry, nevertheless, suffer from the same causes as their fellow-labourers on the soil, only to a smaller degree. There is, however, a positive difference, and a very important one, in the condition of the Christian peasants in the farms ('tchiftliks') held by Turkish proprietors. They are forcibly tied to the spot by means of a perpetual, and even hereditary debt, which their landlord contrives to fasten upon them. This has practically reduced many of the peasant families to a state of serfdom. As an illustration, I may mention, that when a tchiftlik is sold, the bonds of the peasantry are transferred with the stock to the new proprietor." The whole administration, in fact, is so arranged that the entire agricultural population of Turkey is a prey to the Saraff, the Usherdjee, and the Turkish officials.* The words of Labruyère, descriptive of the state of misery in which the French peasantry were plunged under the reign of Louis XIV.,

* *Saraff* . . . . . A native banker.
Usherdjee . . . . . A tax-farmer.

two hundred years ago, would scarcely realize the wretched condition of the Christians in Turkey. "On voit," says this celebrated moralist, "certains animaux farouches, des mâles et des femelles, répandus dans la campagne, noirs, livides, nus, et tout brûlés du soleil, attachés à la terre qu'ils fouillent et remuent avec une opiniâtreté invincible. Ils ont comme une voix articulée, et quand ils se lèvent sur leurs pieds, ils montrent une face humaine, et en effet ils sont des hommes; ils se retirent la nuit dans des tanières, où ils vivent de pain noir, d'écorces et de racines. Ils épargnent aux autres hommes la peine de semer, de labourer et de recueillir pour vivre, et méritent ainsi de ne pas manquer de ce pain qu'ils ont semé." This is a terrible picture, but it is not half so horrible as that which might be drawn of the condition of the Christians in Turkey. The French peasants were oppressed by Frenchmen, but the Slavonians and the Greeks are oppressed by a race alien in nationality and religion, and suffer, besides their other burdens, all the nameless cruelties which the Moslem inflicts, and has for centuries inflicted, on what he calls the Infidel.

The following particulars of the taxation in one town and district of European Turkey will give some idea of the burdens imposed upon the people:—

The town and district of Prevesa in Epirus contains a population of about 11,500 inhabitants. Of this number the town itself contains 6000—4800 Chris-

tians and 1200 Mussulmans—and the district embraces 36 villages, with a population of 5500 souls, all Christians, of the peasant class, having no landed property of their own. The number of families and individuals who are able to pay taxes may be estimated at about 2300, or one-fifth of the total population of 11,500.*

* It will be seen that the population of the town and district of Previsa is as follows:—

Christians	10,300
Mussulmans	1,200
Total	11,500

In all other parts of European Turkey, with the exception, perhaps, of Albania, the Mussulmans are also in a minority. In Bosnia, their numerical inferiority is not so great, as the landed proprietors are Moslems,—descendants of the Slavonian lords of the soil, who abjured Christianity on the conquest of their country by Mahommed II. The superficial area of Bosnia and the Herzegovina is 2300 square miles, and the population, about 1,150,000, is thus divided:—

	Christians.	Mussulmans.
Sandjak of Serajevo	42,823	58,964
Teavnik	103,026	54,912
Banialuka	127,833	35,764
Bihutah	103,165	76,023
Svoinik	127,950	110,865
Novi-Bazar	46,225	49,350
Herzegovina	120,000	80,000
	671,022	465,878

There are also 3100 Jews and 10,000 Gipsies. In every other portion of European Turkey, however, the Christians are in a vast majority over the Mussulmans. In the district of Volo in Thessaly,

The present annual taxation is as follows, taking the sums levied last year :—

Denomination of Tax and Explanation.	Annual Payments (Provisa). Piastres.	Annual Payments (Villages). Piastres.
Verghi, a poll-tax, Christians. .	13,000	—
,, ,, Turks . .	3,000	—
Nizamié, in lieu of former haragï, paid by Christians only . .	36,370	57,380
Ushûr, or tithe, 1-10th on all produce of the land, trees, plants, and hives*	85,000	140,000
Géléb, a duty of 2½ p. per head on sheep, for the right of pasture on waste lands	6,000	130,000
Another géléb on swine, 4½ p. per head.	—	3,000
Carried forward . .	143,370	330,380

the Christian population numbers about 75,000 souls to 1000 Mussulmans. In Crete, the Mussulmans only amount to 68,000 in a population of 250,000. In Scio, the Christians number 60,000, and the Mussulmans 1800, and so is it in every other district.

* The crops, after being cut, are sometimes two months on the ground before the tithe-farmer comes, and until then the people dare not remove them; their value is, of course, much diminished by the ravages of the animals and of the weather. It is stated that in many instances the cost to the villagers of entertaining the collectors of the 'iltizam' has nearly doubled that tax.

Denomination of Tax and Explanation.	Annual Payments (Previsa). Piastres.	Annual Payments (Villages). Piastres.
Brought forward .	143,370	330,380
Cara-gûumrûk, a duty of 8 per cent. on all goods, produce, &c., that pass through the country either way, *besides* the custom duties of imports and exports	26,000	7,000
Apalt on salt, calculated on the quantity of salt consumed on an average by each family . .	40,000	89,000
Zinzérié, 20 per cent. duty on wines made in the country . .	19,000	—
Imbik, a 30 per cent. duty on stills when used; which apparatus are kept sealed up by the Government	4,500	—
Zizenzie, a 15 per cent. duty on the rents of shops where wines and spirits are sold	15,000	—
Apalt on the leech lakes . . .	1,800	—
Pendatié, a 20 per cent. duty on the fishing of leeches . . .	6,000	—
Apalt duty on tobacco, 12p. per oke	10,000	—
Carried forward . . .	265,670	493,982

Denomination of Tax and Explanation.	Annual Payments (Previsa). Piastres.	Annual Payments (Villages). Piastres.
Brought forward .	265,670	493,982
Beie, 30 per cent. duty on amount of the rent of tobacconists' shops	6,000	—
Isnaf tescarési, a special tax levied on all tradesmen, their assistants and servants, in three rates, 60p., 30p., and 15p., but these tradesmen pay the other taxes and contributions as well . . .	1,200	—
Four other contributions paid under the head of Damga, or stamp duty	12,000	—
Total	285,470	493,982

These annual taxes and contributions show a total of 285,470p. from the town of Previsa, and 493,982p. from the villages of the district. Taking the average number of families or taxpayers as one-fifth of the population, we have 1200 bearing these burdens in the town, and 1100 in the 36 villages. And dividing the taxes by the number of taxpayers, we find that every one of the latter in Previsa pays the annual sum of 237·35p., and every one in the villages 449·2p.

In addition, moreover, to all these annual taxes and

ntributions, extra assessments and loans, there are
so sums levied on stamps upon bonds, deeds, contracts,
:. The Customs import duties of 8 per cent. amounted
st year to 381,149p., and the 4 per cent. import
ties to 182,921p.; a total of Customs dues of
3,870p. There is likewise a 5 per cent. duty on
e sale of all property, with another 5 per cent. on
e value of the same property, which is paid on the
ue or transference of the title-deeds. There are, of
urse, also many expenses and fees, incidental to all
oceedings in the civil courts; contributions for the
egraph, for roads, &c. And, though last, not least,
prestation, or forced labour imposed on beasts of
rden. This very generally compels the villager to
y another contribution to the Government to pro-
:e a substitute, which he prefers doing to losing his
:se or mule by starvation, or from the excessive
ight placed on the poor brute, with the chance of
ng beaten himself by his taskmaster besides. It
st not be forgotten, in treating of this subject, that
horse or mule is the only means existing in remote
rkish provinces for conveying produce, fuel, and
like, from place to place. Moreover, when one
siders that all these financial expedients, all these
ays and means" in various guises, improverishing
the labouring classes, fall here upon a population,
richest individual of whom cannot boast of an
ome of 20,000p. a year (not £200), and that of
h individuals there are certainly not a dozen in the

whole of the town and district, whilst the mass, on average, do not earn individually or in a family a yea income of 2000p.—when it is borne in mind that average annual amount of taxes is 237p. on ev townsman, and 449·2 on every villager—the reitera complaints of their grievances can be readily unc stood.

The actual earnings of the villager, who has landed property of his own, can be easily ascertai and proved. They proceed chiefly from three sourc the produce of the land (arable); what his sheep g him in wool and milk; and the value of a pig fatte for sale at the end of the year. These annual ea ings are established by a simple calculation dr from the total annual amount of tithe above no 140,000p.; from the "gélĕb" duty of 2½p. on ev sheep, 130,000p.; and from that on swine, 4½p. head, 6000p. The number of families or taxpa in the villages being, as already calculated, 1100, annual amount of tithes, 140,000p., multiplied by gives the total value of the annual produce 1,400,000p.; divide this by the number of fami 1100, and the value or annual amount of each fami earnings in produce is 1272p. Then from the sl duty, 130,000, divided by 2½, the average numbe sheep in the village is 52,000; the annual retur the peasant of each sheep on an average is calcul at 10p. per head; thus their annual value on the t number is 520,000p.; and this divided by the nu

of families, 11,000, gives each family's yearly earnings from their sheep as 472p. A similar calculation may be made with respect to the "géléb" duty on swine of 4p. on each pig, the villagers possessing an average annual number of 1333·⅓ pigs; a fattened pig at the end of the year is considered to be worth about 250p.; consequently, the annual value from swine-flesh to the 1100 country taxpayers, is 333,425p.; divide this sum also by 1100, and we find the average annual earnings of each family or taxpayer from the swine is 303·4/4.

	Ps.	Par.
Thus the village taxpayer earns from the produce of the land an annual average of	1,272	29
From his sheep	472	29
From his swine	303	4
Total amount of annual earnings .	2,048	22

From which deduct:—

1. Taxes as above shown . . .	449	
2. Landlord's share of produce, 30/300	385	
3. Value of 32 okes of wheat taken by the landlord's steward .	56	
Carried forward . .	890	

		Pi
Brought forward . .	890	2,0
4. Value of 16 okes of wheat, 28p., and of 16 okes of Indian corn, 16p., taken by each guard placed by the landlord over the property, Dragat. . .	44	
5. Value of 16 okes of wheat taken by the public servant of the village.	28	
6. Those villages who have 20 sheep and upwards must give one sheep annually to the landlord	48	
7. From every sheep that produces milk, the landlord takes $2\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of cheese, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of butter, which cannot be here calculated	—	
Deduct		1,0
Remains		1,0

But from a mere guess at the expenses that necessarily be incurred by the peasantry in r this produce, it can be easily conceived that in r often no profit remains, and thus from year to many sell off stock to pay their debts, and most

Rayahs only possess the ragged suit they wear every day, with only a mat to lie upon in a most miserable hut. Many a peasant woman is obliged to wash her clothes in pieces near the stream or well, as she has not a single change to wear. Such is the condition of the Christians in Turkey under the administration of the Porte, and such is the state of things which our Government is asked to countenance and uphold.

CHAPTER V.

DEFAULT OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

No Government in the world has, from similar caus fallen so low in such an incredibly short space of tin for the financial and political ruin of Turkey h been principally the work of the past four yea When Fuad Pasha issued his first budget in 1862, thus proclaimed his financial policy:—"Public credit said he, "is the lever of all the wonders of our ag and the terms on which kingdoms obtain it are, fir economy in their administration—that is to say, th employment of the public money in matters useful the State; and, secondly, the faithful fulfilment of s obligations deliberately undertaken." That policy w rigidly adhered to both by Fuad and A'ali, and it admitted that in all the difficulties they had to en counter no man could ever charge either of them wit a deliberate breach of faith or a forgetfulness of thei country's interest. In giving their word they gav their bond. In that lay their strength. If they failed in carrying out all those reforms which they

promised, every one knew the honesty of their purpose and the efforts which they made—efforts that were thwarted by the bigotry of the Sultan himself and the hostility of the functionaries by whom they were surrounded. "I know," said Fuad, in that now famous letter written on his death-bed at Niee, "that the greater part of our Mussulmans will curse me as a *ghiaour* and an enemy to our religion. I forgive their anger, for they can understand neither my sentiments nor my language. They will one day come to know that I, a *ghiaour*, an 'impious innovator,' have been much more religious, much more truly a Mussulman, than the ignorant zealots who have covered me with their maledictions. They will recognize, but unhappily too late, that I have striven more than any other martyr to save the religion and the Empire which they would have led to an inevitable ruin." By the death of Fuad Pasha, A'ali was left alone to contend against the bigotry and obstructiveness of the old Mussulman party, and when he succumbed in September, 1871, that party, supported by the Sultan, became all-powerful at the Porte, and, in the short space of four years, have succeeded in bringing about the "inevitable ruin" which Fuad foresaw.

In the course of fifteen years—from 1854 to 1869—Turkey borrowed on the Bourses of Europe £59,292,220, as follows:—

6% 1854	£3,000,000
4% 1855	5,000,000
6% 1858	5,000,000
6% 1860	2,070,000
6% 1862	8,000,000
6% 1863	8,000,000
6% 1865	6,000,000
6% 1869	22,222,220
	£59,292,220

The first loans, contracted in 1854 and 1855, for £8,000,000 were necessitated by the expenses consequent on the Crimean War. The next, in 1858, for £5,000,000, was for the purpose of partially withdrawing the paper money—which to a considerable extent was effected. The expenditure, however, created by the fanatical outbreak in Syria and the insurrection in Montenegro created new financial difficulties, so much so that all the withdrawn paper money had to be re-issued, and supplementary issues raised the amount to £10,000,000, while the floating debt of the Treasury must have reached nearly £15,000,000. To meet the difficulties arising from this state of things, the loan of 1862 for £8,000,000 was effected, and that, with the loans of 1863 and 1865 for £14,000,000, brought about an equilibrium which placed Turkey on a basis of financial security. The revenues at the same time had increased from £11,000,000 in 1862 to £14,000,000 in 1865, and

when A'ali Pasha issued his budget in the month of August, 1869, the receipts amounted to £17,128,395, with the expenditure showing a small deficit of £460,995. Financially and politically, Turkey was then in her zenith, but A'ali stood alone. The friend who had for so many years laboured with him was gone, and he could no longer stem the torrent of fanaticism rising around him. He saw the treaty which, in 1856, he had assisted in concluding, torn up and thrown contemptuously in his face, and, in the month of September, 1871, overpowered with anxieties for the future of his country, he expired—but unlike Fuad—in the land to which he had devoted his talents and his life.

On the death of A'ali, the Sultan and his harem and the retrograde functionaries rejoiced, for the man who stood between them and their prey was gone. Mahmoud Pasha, a man after the Sultan's own heart, was raised to the Grand Vizierat, and the era of peculation and corruption commenced.* Since then, during the short space of four years, there have been eight changes in the Grand Vizierat, and Mahmoud Pasha, who, in 1871, commenced the ruin of his

* It is true, there was always peculation and corruption at the Porte, but these habitual vices were, to some extent, kept in check by Fuad and A'ali. Since the latter's death, however, all control has ceased, and corruption is the rule, from the highest to the lowest. The creed of Turkish functionaries now is: "The country is going hopelessly to the dogs; let us *take care of ourselves.*"

country, has had the unenviable notoriety of proclaiming its bankruptcy and his own dishonour. The functionaries, high and low, rushed forward to gorge themselves with plunder; and Turkey is now not only sick, but dying.

Famine and pestilence have swept away fifty thousand people in Asia Minor, and we now hear that the famine still continues because the Government has failed to give the survivors the seed necessary to sow their crops. The foreign debt has, during a time of perfect peace, and in the short space of four years, been increased by £84,603,980. The people are poor and starving; the ministers and functionaries are wallowing in wealth; political discontent is everywhere, and the financial collapse, which was inevitable, has brought not only ruin on Turkey, but suffering and sorrow to many of those who unwisely trusted to the good faith of its Government.

In the letter which Earl Russell addressed to me on the 8th of September last, his lordship said, "On the 11th September, 1860, I wrote a dispatch of strong remonstrance to Sir Henry Bulwer, our ambassador at Constantinople, in answer to certain statements which he had made to me. It appeared from those statements that the Turkish Minister of War received for the uses of the army about six millions sterling a year; that instead of applying those sums to the uses of the army, the army was unpaid, and the revenue was either consumed by the minister in

waste and extravagance, or applied to increase his own private fortune." Riza Pasha is the minister alluded to by Earl Russell, and Riza Pasha is, at the present moment, Minister of Marine.

The whole financial system, in fact, as far as the State is concerned, has been a gigantic sham—a sham, in the manipulation of which the ministers and the local bankers accumulated wealth, and the State accumulated debt; in which the morals of the community were systematically sapped, and the estate of the citizen systematically plundered. Mehemet Rushdi Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier, who died the other day in the Hedjaz, left behind him an immense fortune. Davoud Pasha, after *three years' tenure of office* as Minister of Public Works, retired to a palace on the Lake of Como, and died last year leaving to his family upwards of half a million sterling. Riza Pasha, now Minister of Marine, is believed to be worth three millions sterling, although he commenced life in the shop of a Bacal.* Six years ago, Hussein Avni Pasha is said to have had no money, but the Constantinople correspondent of *The Times* states that he is now immensely rich, "*trois fois millionaire*," and that it is believed all this wealth accrued to him by his dealings with contractors for the supply of arms and ammunition during his management of the war department.† Mahmoud Pasha is also supposed to have amassed a

* *Bacal* . . . . A grocer.

† See *The Times* of December 17, 1875.

large fortune while Minister of Marine, and the same may be said of almost every Pasha who has filled any ministerial or administrative office in the State. Fuad and A'ali were exceptions to the general rule, and they both died poor. I should be doing a great injustice, however, if I permitted it to be inferred that no honest men remain. Mithad Pasha is believed to be both honest and patriotic, and I can assert, from personal knowledge, that there are no more honourable statesmen in Europe than Khalil Sheriff, Sadyk, Cabouli, and Kiani. These men are, unfortunately for their country, in the shade, and they are likely so to continue while the present Sultan reigns. As Aziz Effendi, however, was the hope of the old Turkish party during his brother's life, so is Murad Effendi, the son of Abdul Medjid, the hope of the reforming party. When Murad Effendi ascends the throne, and the statesmen I have named are placed at the helm of the State, there may then be some hope for Turkey, and for Turkish bondholders.

All the loans effected by Fuad and A'ali were perfectly legitimate, as the money that reached the Treasury was used for specific and well-known objects. The eighty-four millions borrowed, however, during the years 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1874, might as well, as far as any useful purpose is concerned, have been thrown into the Bosphorus; for it has all gone into the pockets of the contractors and the Turkish

functionaries, and helped to minister to the wasteful extravagances of the harem at Dolma-Baghtché.* To me the culpable want of foresight displayed by the holders of Turkish bonds appears inexplicable. They had every opportunity of forming their own opinion, as the facts were before them, and there was little difficulty in drawing correct conclusions upon the actual state of Turkish finance. They saw that in 1871, there was a loan of £5,700,000; in 1872, another for £11,126,200; in 1873, one for £27,777,780; and again, in 1874, a still further demand for £40,000,000. They knew that the revenues of the Empire did not exceed £18,000,000, out of which the Sultan took £2,000,000, and that the interest and *amortissement* on the Public Debt amounted to £15,000,000. Did the bondholders, therefore, ever ask themselves this simple question: "How, under such circumstances, is it possible for

* "Semblable à ces trois choses insatiables dont parle Salomon et qui crient sans relâche: Apporte! apporte! apporte! le harem absorbe une partie considérable des revenus de l'État. Il règne parmi les dames du harem une rivalité de luxe capable de ruiner un empire. On les a vues naguère faire pour cent millions de francs de dettes en moins d'un an, et les créanciers, à la honte du Padichah, ont été obligés d'accepter des transactions aussi ruineuses que s'ils s'étaient trouvés enveloppés dans la plus désastreuse des faillites. Quelques-unes de ces dames imaginèrent un moyen plus expéditif et plus économique pour s'acquitter envers les prêteurs et les vendeurs: elles les firent assassiner en pleine rue par leurs eunuques." —"*Les Turcs et la Civilisation*," *par Alexandre Bonneau.*

the Porte to pay the interest and sinking-funds on its Public Debt, and, at the same time, provide the money necessary for the requirements of the State?" The answer to that question is so palpable, that I cannot help feeling astonished at the surprise which is now expressed at the default of the Turkish Government. That default was inevitable, and was long ago foreseen.

In January last I said:*—"The Sublime Porte is like the merchant who, imposing on the credulity of a good-natured banker, obtained advances which in time exceeded the securities. The banker, believing in the good faith and honest intentions of his client, unsuspiciously continued the advances. Acceptances falling due were retired by the proceeds of fresh paper; but the facilities of borrowing, far from making the merchant more cautious and economical, only increased his recklessness and extravagance, until at length the too-confiding banker woke up one morning to find that his debtor was a spendthrift and a rogue. For a short time, the banker continued to make further advances, in the hope of getting back his money, but, finding that hope futile, he considered it useless to throw good money after bad, and closed the account. The banker lost his money, the merchant went into the Bankruptcy Court. So it is with the

* "The Decline of Turkey. Financially and Politically." By J. Lewis Farley, January, 1875.

Porte. As long as foreign capitalists continue to make fresh advances, the interest and sinking funds will be paid. As soon as these advances cease, the Porte will stop payment. I know many Turkish bondholders who bought Turkish stock at high prices, and are now unwilling to sell on account of the loss which sales would entail. They hold on in hope that something will "turn up," and they may get back their money. But I fear they will be like the too credulous banker; they will wait until the crash comes, and principal and interest will go together."

The gross breach of faith, however, committed by Hussein Avni Pasha in reference to the last loan of £40,000,000 ought to have opened the eyes of Turkish bondholders to the true character of Turkish Ministers. When that loan was issued, in September, 1874, it was stated on the prospectus that a convention had been arranged between the Ottoman Bank and the Porte, by which the former was to receive "the whole of the revenues of the Empire," and that it was empowered to pay, before anything else, the interest and sinking funds on the Public Debt. The following is the text of the convention, as stated in the prospectus issued by the Ottoman Bank:—

The creation of the above stock has been authorized by his Imperial Majesty the Sultan in accordance with a convention made between the Imperial Ottoman Government and the Bank, and in pursuance of the measures indicated in the preamble of the law for the reform of the financial administration of the Empire promulgated in July last. The convention and law are framed with a view to

regulate and adjust the receipts and expenditure of the Empire, and to simplify the present system of financial administration, and more especially to ensure the meeting of the financial obligations of the Government as they mature. To effect these objects it is provided by the convention that the bank shall receive the whole of the revenues of the Empire from the collectors, who are to be put into direct communication with the Bank. The Bank is authorized to reserve out of the revenues the funds required for the service of the public debt, and to make the disbursements authorized by a Commission of the Budget, on which the Bank is to be represented *ex officio*. The law enacts that no branch of the administration shall exceed in its expenditure the amount appropriated for it in the Budget authorized by the Commission, and provides that, if from exceptional causes any additional expenditure is indispensable, the department requiring it must report the amount and object to the Government, which must submit the report to the Budget Commission for approval, and provision is to be made for meeting such additional expenditure. It also renders imperative the publication of the Budget and subsequent law respecting any exceptional expenditure.

On the faith of this statement the loan was subscribed, but as soon as that was accomplished Hussein Avni Pasha refused to ratify the convention. This breach of faith was no secret; it was known to all the world. In my pamphlet on "The Decline of Turkey," I stated the facts plainly on this point. I stated, moreover, what were the revenues of the Ottoman Empire, and what was its expenditure, and I showed, by facts and figures, which could not, and have not been controverted, that the Turkish Government must inevitably, and as a matter of certainty, stop payment. I

have the satisfaction of knowing that I was the means of saving many persons from ruin; but I know, also, that the great bulk of the Turkish bondholders thought they knew better. I remember a gentleman coming to me, after reading my pamphlet, who said he had £30,000 invested in Turkish stocks. He disputed my statements, and his words were—"I do not believe you; I prefer believing the statements made by the chairman of the Ottoman Bank." I have not seen that gentleman since, and, perhaps, his opinions may now be changed. I only know that if the holders of Turkish bonds had taken the advice which I gave them in that pamphlet, they would have saved their money, and would not now be in the calamitous position in which they are placed. It is, however, a strange idiosyncrasy of human nature that men prefer those who deceive them, and give little thanks to those who tell them the truth.

Since the repudiation, in part, of its Public Debt by the Porte, it has frequently been asked if there is no public opinion in Turkey, and How could Mahmoud Pasha dare to confront the anger and indignation of his countrymen, after he has been guilty of an act that plunges the whole country into dishonour, and, with one stroke of the pen, blots out the record of Turkey's greatness under the rule of Reschid, of Fuad, and of A'ali? The answer is that no such sentiment prevails in Turkey. Fuad was considered, as he says himself, in his death-bed letter to the Sultan,—a

Ghiaour; and Mahmoud Pasha is the embodiment of Mussulman feeling. Mahmoud Pasha has plundered the Ghiaours, and that, in the eyes of the Turks, is a meritorious, and eminently religious act. This is the faith which the Ulema teach the people; in their eyes, the Christians, whether native Rayahs or Western Infidels, exist only for the benefit of good Mussulmans, and he who cheats and robs them most is the most certain to reap honour here and the glories of Paradise hereafter.

Lady Strangford, whose husband was so well known for his intimate knowledge of Turkey and the Turks, says in her interesting work, "Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines," that "nothing earthly can persuade the Arabs that the Sultan is not the supreme governor of the world, nor make them believe that his armies can be defeated; or that, if they were, it would make any difference in his position as Sultan over all nations: for instance, the common people firmly believe that the Queen of England sends some one of her nobles every year to kneel before the Sultan, with clasped hands and many protestations, to beg from him the favour of being allowed to continue governing her country for another year; and they speak of it as an immense grace and kindness of the Sultan that he receives an envoy instead of herself in person, waiving that duty on her part, because she is a woman, and has children to attend to! They also believe that the Sultan kindly exempted England

from paying tribute to him during the time of the Crimean War, because we brought our soldiers to assist his own against his rebellious subjects,—an honour for our armies, for which the ambassador had besought the Sultan on bended knees. We often heard described the immense excitement of the Moslems all over the country at the time of the horrible massacre at Jeddah; how they exulted, crowed over the Christians, and kept assuring them that the time was soon coming for extirpating Christians throughout the Turkish dominions."

When the Sublime Porte has bled English bondholders of their wealth, it has conveyed to the Moslem people an evident impression of vassalage, and the subscriptions to Turkish loans have been received as so much tribute money from the Ghiaours. The repudiation of these loans follows as a matter of course, and there is no wholesome public sentiment, either to restrain or correct the Grand Vizier in his scheme of wholesale repudiation. This explains much of the indifference of the present Turkish rulers to the overwhelming burden of their ever accruing loans, and shows with what ease the administrators can reconcile to their consciences the default which has scandalized the whole civilized world. It will also mitigate our surprise on learning that the Turkish Ministers, knowing what was about to happen, are said to have operated for a fall on the eve of the default, to the intense disgust of all right-minded men. It

will teach us still more what are the future prospects of the bondholders. For my part I contemplate those prospects with considerable misgivings. I have no confidence whatever in the good faith of Mahmoud Pasha, for he will repudiate as far as he is able, and especially now that no new loans are possible, and the doubtful incentive to honesty — implied in the hope of future financial help — is removed. The temptation, in fact, will now be on the other side. Sinking all moral considerations, the Porte will be so much stronger by the millions which it keeps at home, and which, hitherto, have been devoted to meet the service of the foreign debt. "Inshallah!" Mahmoud will exclaim, "we can get nothing more from the Ghiaours; let us keep our money and take care of ourselves!"

The telegraph has been very busy lately sending messages from Constantinople to assure the anxious bondholders in London, Paris, and elsewhere, that ample provision has already been made for the January coupons. But the inhabitants of free England have no idea of the extortions by which it is sought to raise the necessary funds. "In Angora alone—a territory twice as large as the British islands with a population of 3,000,000—the recent famine," says the *Monetary Gazette*,* "caused by a combination of a terrible drought, followed by an unusually severe

* The *Monetary Gazette* of Dec. 18, 1875.

winter and by a destructive murrain, swept off by starvation 50,000 souls, caused a loss in money of several hundred thousand pounds, threw vast tracts of land out of cultivation, and utterly crushed the energies and spirits of the impoverished, helpless peasantry. The calamity had done its worst, and the condition in which it had left the population was so deplorable, that the Porte deemed it necessary to relieve them from the payment of the arrears of taxes previous to 1872-3, amounting to about £1,500,000, and also to reduce the tithe on produce by 2½, reverting to the original tenth. Decrees to that effect were publicly read by the Vali, or Governor-general, who also announced reforms in the mounted police, a body of picturesque but ruthless ruffians, who plunder the people both in the Government's name and on their own account. A new Vali has, however, been appointed—seven of them were changed in three years—who ignores the Sultan's decrees, and declares that "his business is to collect, not to remit taxes." The grinding of the people is more unsparing than ever, application being made for the Land-tax both for the present, and in advance for the next year. The tax imposed on Christians for exemption from military service is levied without mercy, the well-to-do people being held answerable for the sums due by a whole community under threat of imprisonment or confiscation; and the still half-famished people, even those who lived on charity, being compelled to sell their

winter provisions, and to shear their flocks in the heart of winter, to meet the new exactions enforced at the sword's point by the police, whose violence so exceeds all bounds that the Mooktars, or Mayors, of Christian communities forbid women and children to venture from their houses, no matter on what errand. These, and even worse atrocities, of which could be given authentic particulars, are suggested to the Government by the anxiety to meet their liabilities to their creditors, and to enable them to pay the half-coupons of the debt due, according to their own engagement, in January next. These atrocities are practised in order to make up the coupons about which so much anxiety is felt. It is enough to make Christians shudder, for the coupons are the price of blood. And what are they but the tribute of debt which we extort? It may be in harmony with our fiscal economy; we know it is; but it is not in harmony with the lofty principles which the nation avows. We, at least, as Turkish bondholders, can no longer raise an outcry against Turkish misrule and the cruelty of Turkish exactions. We are *particeps criminis*." In spite of the awful state of the Treasury, the Sultan still demands money. "The day before yesterday," says the Constantinople correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "the Sultan, in spite of the present state of the Treasury, demanded money; he was respectfully refused, even after a second and more peremptory demand. The impoverished state of the

country was again set before him; but money had just been sent in from Broussa, and the Sultan would have it. He sent an escort of soldiers to the Treasury, and took by force, report says, £150,000; but on better authority it is believed to have been £40,000. The immediate necessity was for presents within the palace. The meaning of these presents is well understood."

The bondholders acted very imprudently in lending their money, but they are now acting very unwisely in the course they are pursuing. They are permitting themselves to be misled by promises from men who have already deceived them, and they lend a willing ear to those who flatter their hopes, and tell them what they desire. At a recent meeting of Turkish bondholders, a gentleman, who, I believe, has never been in Turkey, and knows nothing of the country, made a speech, in which he said they would get every shilling of their money, and he was received with applause. On the other hand, a gentleman who lived for twenty years in Turkey attempted to speak the truth, and he was requested—to sit down! If I were now to tell the bondholders that the interest on their bonds would be paid in full, and their imagined securities were perfectly safe, they would read my book, and probably consider me a great financier. But, as I cannot tell them anything of the kind, they will, no doubt, notwithstanding the warning I gave them in January last, contemn my statements and ignore my advice.

The bondholders are seeking after a chimera, and endeavouring to obtain that which has no existence. The only Turkish loans that possess any tangible security whatever are those which were secured on the Egyptian Tribute. That tribute money has been hitherto remitted to the Bank of England, and the Turkish bondholders desire that the Khédive should still continue to so remit it. But, as far as I have been able to judge, they have not considered what would be the inevitable result of such a proceeding. The Khédive is the vassal of the Sultan, but he owes no allegiance to the bondholders. His duty is to his Suzerain, and not to the latter's creditors. The honour of the Khédive is not concerned, for, in remitting the tribute money to London, he but obeyed the orders of the Porte, and if he now remit it to Constantinople, he will only be strictly acting in accordance with his duty. I believe, myself, that the Khédive would prefer to remit this money to the Bank of England, but his doing so, in opposition to the orders of the Sultan, would be a declaration of independence. Is England prepared to support him in this act? and if the ironclads from the Bosphorus enter the harbour of Alexandria, will England protect him? The bondholders, as Englishmen, should speak out, and not evade the responsibilities which their words involve. It would scarcely be consonant with the dignity of England to leave the Khédive in the lurch, if he should come to grief through his endeavour to protect

English interests. The bondholders should, therefore, be straightforward, and say to the Khédive:—"We know that by continuing to remit the tribute to London, you virtually throw off the Suzerainty of the Porte, and take upon yourself so much of the Turkish debt as is represented by the tribute, that sum being the price of your independence. England is prepared to support you." Any other words are mere nonsense, and unworthy of Englishmen. The independence of Egypt is of paramount importance to us, at the present moment, and we ought to aid the Khédive if he desire to obtain it.

None of the loans, with the exception of that guaranteed by England and France, have, in reality, any security whatever. It is quite true that securities, such as the Customs duties of Constantinople, the tithes and sheep-tax of Roumelia, &c., were hypothecated on the prospectuses; but the revenues were never collected or received on behalf of the bondholders, as, on the contrary, they have always been received by the Government, and have formed part of the general revenues of the Empire. The interest on the loans was not paid out of these revenues, but, as every one now knows, out of the proceeds of continuous borrowing on the foreign markets. The bondholders, therefore, cannot expect to obtain what they never possessed, and those who flatter their wishes in this respect only deceive them. *The Times*, in its City Article of the 1st inst., clearly and accurately describes

the true bearing of this question. The writer says:—"In the case of all the rest, bondholders are absolutely without effective leverage to move the Turk from his position. They may have agreements by the shiploads, syndicates by the dozen, and all will avail them nothing in securing the taxes attached to their loans, if Turkey prefers to keep them to itself. Bondholders do not seem to realize this fact, and keep harping away about securities, broken pledges that the Turks should be made to respect, and so forth, with a most lamentable aimlessness. We confess that the whole of this agitation has a singularly futile appearance in the face of the plainest facts of Turkish finance, to which bondholders seem almost wilfully to shut their eyes. While they wrangle about the decree, and about who shall share it, and in what proportion, they seem to forget the danger which is most imminent to them all—the stoppage of Turkey altogether through the crushing weight of her floating debt. The machine of her credit has stopped, as it were, in full career, and left the financiers who kept it going with probably at least £14,000,000, possibly much more, of this debt which Turkey will have to pay before any received creditor has a chance of getting a penny. Already default has occurred on one portion of this floating debt, and other failures must shortly follow, all of which tend to increase the embarrassments of the State, and to dry up the source from which the bondholders have hitherto been paid. If Turkey has any money,

these first claims will have to be liquidated, and before that is done there will be the various series of Treasury bills falling to be attended to. Amid all these, the real priority claims, where is the bondholder to come in? If any bondholder gets interest on his bonds, it will be those who live in Turkey and hold the bonds of the general debt; all outside people, whatever their security, stand but a poor chance of getting anything in the close pinch that is now squeezing the Porte. It is time to face this contingency, and to strip the whole subject of the foolish rhetoric about Turkish resources and Turkish probity that the public have been deluged with these ten days past. The financial resources of Turkey were at an end when her borrowing was at an end, and so poor is her Exchequer now that the new ironclad built here had to be paid for with money specially borrowed, and there is no money wherewith to pay for the supplies and transports required by the troops in Herzegovina. All talk about the great things Turkey can do if this, that, or the other event or series of events would but happen, is merely so much glozing over of the plain, sober truth, that Turkey has borrowed, with the help of financiers as unscrupulous as her own venal officials, recklessly, utterly without regard to her resources, and that suddenly—the lying not having been so productive lately as of yore—this borrowing has come to an end, and with it her available resources. There has been

from first to last no effort to develope the country by the money, and the country is, therefore, much poorer now than when this mad career began. What hope can there be, then, that Turkey can go on paying when she can no longer borrow? We confess we see none, but we do see that illusive hopes are being dangled before bondholders, and that Turkish securities are being kept up with a view to letting the financiers, who have done so much mischief, off with their plunder. We must end as we began, then, by saying that, outside the Tribute Loans, the bondholders of Turkey have little to hope for."

Another great mistake the bondholders evidently commit is in ignoring the fact that it is the millions of Christian Rayahs who pay the taxes, out of which the interest on the public debt is expected to be paid. Neither the wandering Bedawîn nor the roving Kurd contributes much to the Turkish Exchequer, while the Mussulmans of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, as well as in other parts of European Turkey, are, comparatively speaking, free from taxation. The Christians are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and the effete Turk lives in luxurious indolence on the produce of their toil. The bondholders have little or nothing to hope for from the Turkish Government, and it is their interest, therefore, to support the Rayahs in their struggle for freedom. Given autonomy, the Christians will take upon themselves their fair share of the Turkish debt, and this is the only hope

for the creditors of Turkey. When the independence of the Rayahs is secured, the interests of the bondholders will be guaranteed; but as long as Turkish misrule is allowed to exist in Europe, the Christians will be tyrannized over, and the debt will never be liquidated.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TURKS IN EUROPE.

It is a popular belief that as England is inhabited by Englishmen, and France by Frenchmen, so the population of Turkey in Europe consists principally of Turks. Some persons have a faint idea that there are Christians in Turkey, as recent events in Bosnia and the Herzegovina have shown, but that they are numerically inferior to their Mussulman masters. Yet, strange as it may appear, the fact is that, in a population of sixteen million souls, the ruling race does not number more than one million one hundred and fifty thousand.

The various races of which the population of Turkey in Europe is composed may be thus classified :—

Ottomans	1,150,000
Slavonians	7,200,000
Greeks	1,450,000
Albanians	1,500,000
Roumains	4,000,000
Armenians	400,000
Jews	70,000
Tartars	16,000
Gipsies	214,000
Total	16,000,000

The classification, according to religions, is as follows :—

Mussulmans	3,200,000
Greeks and Armenians . . .	11,600,000
Catholics	890,000
Jews	70,000
Other sects	240,000
Total . . .	16,000,000

As I have already said, the "Eastern Question" is not so much a question of nationalities as of religion. In Asiatic Turkey, there are as many different races as in Turkey in Europe, but then they are united by the common bond of hatred to the Christians, who are there in a minority. In Asia, we find Persians and Chaldeans, Kurds and Druses, Metâwalis and Ismailíyehs, Afghans and Bedawîn; the Ansayrians, who still practise the worship of Adonis; the Kelbiehs, who adore the dog; the Yezidis, who adore the devil; and, over all, the ruling race, the Ottomans. Whatever differences there may be, however, between the sects of Sunni and Shiah, or the Babís and the Wahhábís, they are all agreed on one general point—detestation of the Cross. The war-song of the Druses still resounds over Mount Lebanon,* and the massacres

* "Ya ma hala, ya ma hala,
Debhil nassara, ya ma hala."
("How sweet it is, how sweet it is,
To slay the Christians, how sweet it is.")

of the Christians in 1860 is not yet forgotten. These men, uncivilized and unlearned, shut out comparatively from all knowledge of the world beyond their own limited sphere, take no note of the advance of time, and interpret the Koran now in the same spirit as their ancestors did 1200 years ago. "The worst of all beasts is the Infidel." "Kill all those who do not believe in God and in the day of judgment,' says the Koran; but these people believe that the Infidels are not alone those who do not believe in God, but those who do not believe in Mahommed. The following translation of a proclamation which was posted on the doors of the churches in Mount Lebanon evidences clearly the fanaticism of the Moslem:—

"From the nation of Islam to the nation of Infidelity, of bad faith and impiety, to the nation which, contrary to all right, has become haughty and proud upon the earth.

"To you we say, That you are become insolent and ungrateful, that you have made changes and spread perfidiousness throughout the land in which we had planted only good; and, because you obtained support from the Government, you have committed acts such as no people before you ever perpetrated.

"By Allah!—and we repeat it—by Allah, you are only dogs! Your massacre is a sweet triumph; it is pleasant to see the sharp sword of death fall and cause you horrible torments; and now, since you are de-

prived of everything, and chastisement has overtaken you, you are become as mangy curs.

"May the malediction of Allah fall on you, on your race, on your Cross, because your religion is an imposture. The religion of Mahommed (may Allah watch over him and salute him !) is based upon truth; and, at a later day, you will see the true religion spread over the whole land.

"You are supported by the Franks, and you are become proud and insolent; but, by Allah! in the combat you will see what we shall do. Your blood, your honour as husbands, your property, all are ours. You have passed the limits fixed, and those who do so shall lose those three things. You are yourselves the authors of your own ruin; for Allah, the most High, has said, in his blessed book, 'You shall eat what your hands have gathered;' and Allah is not unjust to his children.

"By Allah! upon the earth there shall remain only the remembrance of your name, and they shall say, that there was here such and such a people. For the future we will speak to you only with the sword. We have shut our eyes once, twice, thrice, and you have become like proud Pharaohs; but your pride will bring down upon you its own punishment, by the shedding of your blood.

"You pretend that Ayssa (Jesus) is among you. God forbid! for he cannot be satisfied with you. You are destined for the flames, and you will there find the

chastisement for what you have done. May Allah not relieve you, for his book says: 'Every offence calls for vengeance!'"

I have seen villages where peace and happiness reigned, and where nature had done everything to create a terrestrial paradise. I have seen those same villages when nothing remained but ruined walls, charred rafters, and deserted homesteads. Deir-el-Kamr, numbering 8000 inhabitants, was one of the most beautiful villages in Mount Lebanon. The houses, built along the steep side of a rocky hill, and the terraces raised one above another from the bottom of the glen, cultivated to the top, and covered with vine, olive, and mulberry plantations, presented a most charming and picturesque appearance. The Druses attacked this village; but the Christians drove back their enemies, the besieged losing 25 men, while the besiegers left 100 killed behind them. Barricades were then thrown up to defend the entrance to the village, and the Christians defended themselves successfully. In the meantime, Tahir Pasha, a Turkish general of division, arrived with 800 men, and, relying on his assurance that "they might depend on the protection of his troops," the Christians began to feel a comparative sense of security. All those who desired a place of safety were ordered to deliver up their arms and go at once to the Seraï. The order was obeyed, and before midnight many hundreds had crowded into the great court of the governor's

house, bringing with them their jewels, gold, and such other valuables as they could readily carry. The following morning, however, the Turkish troops opened the gates to the Druses, and then commenced a massacre which, for vindictiveness and cold-blooded atrocity, has never, perhaps, been exceeded. In many instances, the Christians were first stripped naked, and then, stretched on the ground in the form of a cross, were hacked to pieces with swords and hatchets. Almost all had the right hand cut off, or the wrist deeply gashed, the instinctive feeling of self-preservation making them raise their arms to ward off the blows of their assailants. Male children were torn in two, and mothers, crouching over their offspring, saw the yataghans pierce their infants' bodies, after having first passed through their own. Deir-el-Kamr was set on fire, the bright flames shot up fiercely from burning homes, and the black smoke shut out the light of day, as if endeavouring to cover with an impenetrable veil the deeds of darkness and of blood which were being enacted. The Druses and the Turkish troops fell upon the unarmed Christians; all feelings of humanity had fled, and the savage instincts of the tiger alone filled the hearts of those who rushed upon their defenceless prey. At about two o'clock the fire had partially burned itself out, the smoke cleared away, and the sun looked down upon 2000 human bodies, made after the image of their Creator, now hacked, mutilated, and destroyed. There lay headless trunks; and here gory

heads, wearing upon their features the expression of unutterable agony; children of three or four years old, whose innocence might have been their protection, and old men whose grey hair might have been respected; women, wounded and dying upon the bodies of their lifeless infants; young girls, weeping for the fathers and brothers they had lost, and, in despairing accents, calling down Heaven's vengeance on their destroyers. The shrill cries of the men, the wild shrieks of the women, the blasphemous imprecations and hellish laughter of the Moslems,—the shouts, the fire, and the smoke, all formed a scene at which humanity shudders, and from the contemplation of which the heart shrinks back sickened and appalled. Scenes like these have been of frequent occurrence. "*Ab uno disce omnes.*" Mrs. Burton, wife of Captain Richard Burton, late Consul at Damascus, in her recent work on "The Inner Life in Syria," says:—"The Moslem fell like wolves upon the unhappy Christians, who, of course, were in the minority. Houses were pillaged, women insulted and murdered, old men hacked to pieces, children flung into the flames, babies tossed up and caught on lances,—in fact, all the horrors of the Indian mutiny. Those who escaped actual slaughter died of fright, of famine, of wounds, of privations; the churches and houses were burned, and the whole town became one charred and blackened mass; their property was sacked at the time, and bought up afterwards at mock sales for

nominal prices; all support and influence was taken from them, and the miserable remnant was driven out homeless and penniless, save the women who were rescued to live with the victors in the most degrading manner."

The habit of using indifferently the popularly synonymous designations of "Mussulman" and "Turk" has led to much misconception as to the true position of the Turks in Europe. There never was an immigration of Turks, properly so called, into Europe, such as that of the conquering Saxons into Britain, or like the peaceful invasion of America by Irish and Germans, which has more than half peopled the New World. From the period when Amurath established his capital at Adrianople down to its removal to Constantinople—nearly a century—there is no record of the conquering race receiving any fresh accession of Turkish blood. The great bulwark of Ottoman power was the Janissaries; but these troops, as is well known, were composed of Christian captives forced to adopt the faith of Islam. Their total destruction by Mahmoud II., in 1826, weakened the strength of the empire, and, since then, the Turkish soldiery has chiefly been recruited from the Asiatic provinces. Whatever numerical strength, however, the Turks formerly possessed in Europe, it has long ceased to exist, and the Turkish race is fast dying out. According to Haspel, European Turkey numbered, in 1823, about 2,700,000 Osmanlis, who had diminished in 1850,

according to M. Ubicini, to 1,400,000; while M. Dufour, in a report addressed to the French Government in 1863, maintains that the figures, at that date, were little more than 1,150,000. Besides the Osmanlis, there are about 2,000,000 Mussulmans in Europe, but they are composed of native races, Albanians and Slavonians, the decendants of Christian renegades who abjured their religion in order to retain possession of their lands. The Turks are strangers and interlopers in the ancient dominions of the Constantines, an alien minority dominating the original native possessors of the soil,—a mere garrison, in fact, in a foreign country. Mr. T. Brassey, M.P., who has recently visited Constantinople, says:—"Not more than a quarter of the population of Turkey in Europe are Mussulmans, and the Turkish language is but little spoken among them. In Asia the proportion is exactly reversed, and the ultimate solution of the Turkish problem may be found in the return of the Sultans to Broussa, the place whence they originally came, or to some other suitable spot, if any exist in Asiatic Turkey. While there is little disposition on the part of its Asiatic subjects to question the authority of the Ottoman Government, its power is on the wane in European Turkey. The difference in the degree of local influence arises from the disproportion of the Mahommedan to the Christian element in the population. In European Turkey, the Christians are by far the most numerous, and they are more intelli-

gent and better educated than the Turks. It is against the genius and nature of a genuine Turk to engage in commerce. The Greeks, on the other hand, are keen traders. They are, therefore, growing richer, while the Turks are becoming poorer every day. The land, even when belonging nominally to the Turks, is generally mortgaged to a Jew money-lender. Then follows claims for interest which cannot be satisfied, and thus the ownership of the soil is rapidly passing from the Turks. Again, the Ottoman Government is afraid to arm its Christian subjects in European Turkey. As a necessary consequence, the whole burden of the conscription falls upon the Turkish population, who are already a comparatively small minority. At the close of the Crimean War promises were made to the Western Powers that thenceforward the Christians and the Turks should stand on a footing of perfect equality. Christians were to become eligible for the highest offices of State. They were to take part in the administration of justice, and the possession of the Christian faith was to be no bar even to the occupation of the post of Grand Vizier. None of these pledges have been fulfilled." One million one hundred and fifty thousands Turks in Europe rule over 12,000,000 Christians, who, in those parts still under the direct sway of the Sultan, are subjected to the most barbarous cruelty, the most grinding tyranny, and the most inhuman persecutions. Is there, then, no sympathy to be felt in England for those Christians

who, during upwards of four hundred years, have held their faith unsullied in the midst of the enemies of the Cross, and whose ancestors preferred to relinquish lands and life rather than prove false to the belief which their fathers taught them? We read, with a shudder, of those inhuman exhibitions where men were obliged to slaughter each other for the amusement of the Roman people, and where, in the arena, Christian captives fought with savage beasts, made still more savage by hunger; and yet, in the 19th century, when civilization has shed its softening influence over the world, we calmly contemplate the miserable spectacle of unoffending Christians being ruthlessly butchered, of matrons and virgins violated, of villages in flames, of cherished homes in ashes, and all because these unfortunate people prefer to follow the precepts of the Gospel as taught by Christ, rather than the doctrines of the Koran as inculcated by Mahommed. If they became Mussulmans they would no longer be persecuted. The Mussulman peasants, it is true, are oppressed by taxation, but they are not treated with cruelty. Persecution and outrage are alone reserved for the Christian.

The decrease in the Turkish element of the population of the Ottoman Empire is owing to many causes.* Dr. Pardo, in the *Gazette Médicale*

* "Le paradis de Mahomet est le harem divinisé, le sérail des voluptés éternelles. Le musulman ne peut lever les yeux vers le ciel sans voir les houris lui tendre les bras. Ces perspectives de

d'Orient, alludes to some of them. "The falling off," he says, "of the population in the East, which has very naturally attracted the attention of eminent economists, appears not to have made much impression upon the easy-going and fatalistic inhabitants of these countries. At a period when the populations of all the States of Europe are progressively augmenting in such proportions that the increase has been nearly a third within the past half-century, the Turkish race is sensibly diminishing

la vie à venir exercent, on le conçoit, une grande influence sur les préoccupations de la vie présente. Le Turc ne connaît et ne recherche que les plaisirs des sens. On le marie dès l'âge de la puberté, et il se trouve en quelque sorte usé avant d'avoir atteint son parfait développement. S'il est riche, il a plusieurs femmes, sans compter les concubines, et quand l'abus a fait le désir impuissant, il demande aux aphrodisiaques une surexcitation qui rend sa caducité plus précoce. La vie sédentaire le pousse à l'obésité, le prédispose à une foule d'affections morbides et affaiblit sa puissance générative; son régime alimentaire est débilitant, et le tabac à fumer, dont toute la population, hommes, femmes et enfants, fait une effroyable consommation, produit par son action stupéfiante un affaiblissement des muscles et du cerveau qui favorise encore le penchant à la vie sédentaire. Il n'est pas besoin d'être physiologiste ou médecin pour comprendre la déplorable influence qu'un pareil régime a dû exercer de générations en générations sur la race des Osmanlis. Le Turc était renommé jadis, comme le Hongrois son consanguin, par sa vigueur, son énergie et sa vivacité. Aujourd'hui, vivant symbole de la mollesse et de l'inertie, il passe sa vie assis, les jambes croisées, sur un tapis, et la chibouk à la bouche."—"*Les Turcs et la Civilisation*," *par Alexandre Bonneau.*

every day, and you see it melting away before your eyes. What is the destructive germ which thus threatens the extinction of these healthy and vigorous races of one of the finest countries of the world? It is certainly not epidemics. The plague has long since received its quietus; and the invasions of cholera and typhus, fatal as they have been at times, have never taken up their abode in Turkey. Other epidemics, also, are comparatively rarer and milder here than anywhere else. The favourable nature of the soil and the climate does not give birth to endemic diseases, with the exception of some marshy localities where intermittent and often dangerous fevers make a number of victims at certain seasons of the year. Neither have wars ravaged Turkey for a long time past. Famine, too, has spared it; and when in Russia and Africa, and even in the very heart of Prussia, people were literally dying with hunger, here, thank God, nothing similar happened. What, then, can be the cause of this dwindling away of the population in the presence of the most apparently favourable circumstances? It is evident that there must be a multiplicity of causes, and a complexity of wrongs and malpractices, traceable to a bad social organization, to manners and customs, to the deplorable condition of the practice of medicine in the towns and rural districts, to the neglect of sanitary measures, and to the utter disregard of all rules of sound medical police. The investigation of all these

causes does not belong to us, and we will leave it to social economists, politicians, and moralists; but we purpose pointing out briefly—as far as superior considerations render it opportune—those which are exclusively within the medical domain. In the first place, to explain this falling-off in the development of the population, it must necessarily be admitted that there is a great disproportion between the births and the deaths, as also that, of such births, there are not the number of persons attaining the most advanced age according to the rules of the tables of mortality. We must consequently, above all, endeavour to find out what are the causes of this evident want of adjusting equilibrium between the births and the deaths, and what are the causes which prevent children attaining mature age upon a given number of births. The first are unquestionably referable to the obstacles interposed to the communication of the sexes and to the gestation to the proper term of the products of conception. The causes in the second category are those which compromise here, more than elsewhere, the existence of man from birth to old age. To point out all the politico-social causes which impede the communication of the sexes would be, probably, to go beyond our province; but we cannot refrain from mentioning polygamy, precociously early marriages, and other vices which we may not name, but which exist none the less in spite of civilization and morality. Criminal abortions, also, play an im-

mense part in the sad calamity which afflicts this unhappy country. The practice of abortion has become almost a social habit. Male and female practisers of abortion openly exercise their abominable calling, notwithstanding the remonstrances and protests of the Imperial Society of Medicine. The manner in which accouchements are effected is likewise the occasion of serious accidents and great danger, imperilling often several lives. The practice of midwifery, that difficult obstetric art which of late years has received such marked amelioration, is generally, and with a few rare exceptions, performed by shameless and ignorant women, who resort to all kinds of manœuvres, and wield the forceps and the cephalotribe in a manner horrible to witness. A variety of accidents and a number of victims have to be recorded every day. How many women there are who succumb under the culpable practices of the professors of abortion, or the unskilful proceedings of nominal midwives at the moment of delivery! How many fœtuses are cruelly sacrificed by similar practices! Is this not one of the causes of the depopulation which is continually becoming more manifest? The illegal exercise of the practice of medicine pitilessly completes the work of destruction upon the unhappy beings of tender age who have managed to escape the instruments or the poison which threatened them in their mother's womb. We have too often dwelt upon this subject to need further recurrence to it. Besides,

the time for writing and speaking is past. The danger is within the threshold, and prompt and energetic action is needed if there be a wish to prevent the spreading gangrene."

Born originally for an active life, to lead great herds into the steppes, and carry war and pillage amongst their neighbours, the Turks have become enervated since the day when, driven back from the ramparts of Vienna, the sword fell from their grasp, and they retired to Constantinople, where they found their Capua. But, powerful to destroy, they have ever been powerless to construct. The social, religious, and political separatism which the dominant section of her population carried with them from the cradle of their race in Asia, remains as rigorously complete in the days of Abdul-Aziz as in those of Amurath I.; and their absolute infusibility with the conquered populations has shut Turkey out from those influences which might otherwise have raised her to a position of greatness, usefulness, and honour. The Turks assimilated many of the vices of Byzantine corruption, but they borrowed nothing useful or good from the civilization of Greece. After four centuries, they are, to-day, just what they were when they first left the plateaus of Central Asia. Industry and art are absolutely foreign to them, and they know no pleasures more delicate than the grimaces of buffoons, lascivious dances, and the spectacle where Karagous, their national Punch, utters the most revolting

obscenities, and, by gestures and attitudes, represents the most disgusting lewdness. They have become effeminate without ceasing to be barbarous. "The distinguishing characteristic of the real Asiatic," says Mr. Senior, "is intellectual sterility and unfitness for change. One nation, to save itself trouble, declares that its laws shall be immutable. Another institutes caste, and makes all further improvement impossible. Another protects itself against new ideas, by refusing all intercourse with foreigners. An Asiatic had rather copy than try to invent, rather acquiesce than discuss, rather attribute events to destiny than to causes that can be inquired into and explained. His only diplomacy is war; his only internal means of government are poison, the stick, and the bowstring. In the Turk these peculiarities are exaggerated. Whatever be his purpose, he uses the means which require the least thought. If he has to create a local government, he simply hands over to the Pasha all the powers of the Sultan. If he wants money, he takes it wherever he can find it; and if he cannot get it by force, he puts up to auction, power, justice, the prosperity, and indeed the subsistence, of his subjects. He averts the dangers of a disputed succession by killing all the nephews of the Sultan, or preventing any from coming into existence. He relies on the rain for washing his streets, on the dogs for keeping them free from offal, on the sun for making passable the tracks which he calls roads, and on the climate for enabling him to live

in his timber house without repairing it. For everything else he relies on Allah, and entreats God to do for him what he is too torpid to do for himself. His fatalism is, in fact, indolence in its most exaggerated form. It is an escape, not only from exertion, but from deliberation. Our attempts to improve the Turks put me in mind of the old story of the people who tried to wash the negro white. He never was, or will be, or can be anything but a barbarian."*

It is not, however, in European Turkey alone, but in every part of the Ottoman Empire, that the dying away of the Turks is apparent. For example, in the year 1830, Smyrna, according to Mr. Consul Blunt, contained 80,000 Turkish inhabitants, while, in 1860, the Turks numbered only 41,000. The Turk reclines, smokes his pipe, and decays. "When you leave the partial splendours of the capital," says the Earl of Carlisle,† "and the great State establishments, what is it you find over this broad surface of a land which nature and climate have favoured beyond all others, once the home of all art and civilization? Look yourself—ask those who live there;—deserted villages, uncultivated plains, banditti-haunted mountains, torpid laws, a corrupt administration, a disappearing people." A correct census is not desired by the Turkish Government, as it is conscious of the great decrease of the

* "A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece." By Nassau W. Senior, Esq.

† "Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters," by the Earl of Carlisle.

Mussulman population, and it would naturally not like to publish the fact; but the reports from all our Consuls fully confirm the statement of the late Mr. Finn, when he says:—"The Mahommedan population is dying out." Whatever energy and self-reliance the Turks once possessed have long since gone. "Until the battle of Lepanto and the retreat from Vienna," says Mr. Senior,* "the Turks possessed the grand and heroic, but dangerous virtues of a conquering nation. They are now degraded by the grovelling vices of a nation that relies on foreigners for its defence. But as respects the qualities which conduce to material prosperity, to riches and to numbers, I do not believe that they have much changed. I do not believe that they are more idle, wasteful, improvident, and brutal now than they were 400 years ago. But it is only within the last fifty years that the effects of these qualities have shown themselves fully. When they first swarmed over Asia Minor, Roumelia, and Bulgaria, they seized on a country very populous and of enormous wealth. For 400 years they kept on consuming that wealth and wearing out that population. If a Turk wanted a house or a garden, he turned out a Rayah; if he wanted money, he put a bullet into a handkerchief, tied it into a knot, and sent it to the nearest opulent Greek or Armenian. At last, having lived for four centuries on their capital of things and of

* "A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece," by Nassau W. Senior, Esq.

man, having reduced that rich and well-peopled country to the desert which you now see it, they find themselves poor. They cannot dig, to beg they are ashamed. They use the most mischievous means to prevent large families; they kill their female children, the conscription takes off the males, and they disappear. The only memorial of what fifty years ago was a populous Turkish village is a crowded burial-ground, now unused." "As a medical man," said Y., "I, and perhaps *I* only, know what crimes are committed in the Turkish part of Smyrna, which looks so gay and smiling, as its picturesque houses, embosomed in gardens of planes and cypresses, rise up the hill. I avoid as much as I can the Turkish houses, that I may not be cognizant of them. Sometimes it is a young second wife who is poisoned by the older one;* sometimes a female child, whom the father will not bring up; sometimes a male killed by the mother to spite the father. Infanticide is rather the rule than the exception. No inquiry is made, no notice is taken by the police."

* "La Sultane, mère de l'épouse du kapoudanpacha, dans un accès de jalousie, fit étrangler un jour une esclave noire que le Sultan aimait beaucoup; elle introduisit ensuite successivement, dans le lit de S. H., plusieurs autres esclaves, en les revêtant du costume de sa victime, puis, elle leur faisait subir le même sort. Le sultan ayant enfin découvert les crimes de la Sultane son épouse, fut saisi d'une telle fureur, qu'il la maltraita de coups de bâton, la foula aux pieds, et lui déchira la figure avec un poignard."—"*Turquie*," *par M. Jouannin.*

The diminution of the number of the Turkish inhabitants is going on at so rapid a rate as to threaten their total extinction. Most writers on Turkey, however, act as Lord Carlisle did, when he says, "Upon the state of morals I debar myself from entering." Yet this is one of the most important subjects for consideration when the condition and prospects of an empire are to be considered. "Few of you in England," says a resident in Constantinople, in a letter to an eminent English statesman, "know the real horrors of this country. You will see what I mean when I tell you my intention of getting a number of tracts, in Turkish, written or lithographed, to be distributed by a Turk on the bridges, &c. The tract is to consist of such passages as the history of Sodom and Gomorrah. What can we hope to do with this people? One Englishman, who has to do with multitudes of them, reckons those who are innocent of this hideous vice at two in a hundred. A Turkish teacher told an European that those who were guiltless as to that are two in a thousand. Stories of assaults, *sub dio*, effected or attempted, have come to me one after another. These people must be held together? What is our policy supporting? Are we not responsible for corruption which breeds by our fostering? Some one asked me how to account for this in a people the most moral of all—the English people—that these deepest immoralities should be maintained by their patronage? I replied, they are for the most part quite ignorant,

or unwilling to believe what they hear. Still, it is a condition of morals which makes khans and baths and lonely places dangerous to the unwary. . . . Believe me (my authority is the best), it is a question of time; the decay of the Turkish people is going on rapidly; their numbers are fast decreasing through vice, disease, neglect, and the conscription."

It is generally supposed that polygamy is conducive to the increase of mankind, and, amongst other instances, the numerous family of Brigham Young is frequently given as an example. I have not been amongst the Mormons, and am unable, therefore, to form an opinion, from personal knowledge, of the value of their institutions; but I have known the Turks for nearly twenty years, and all my experience leads me to believe that, in Turkey at all events, a plurality of wives does not conduce to the increase of the Turkish population. If you visit any town or village where there is a mixed Mussulman and Christian population, that fact will be at once apparent, for, in the Turkish quarter, as Mr. Consul Blunt says, "no one is visible, no children in the streets; whereas, in the Christian quarter, the streets are full of children." The wide-spread practice of infanticide amongst all classes is, however, one of the reasons why the Turkish part of the population is rapidly diminishing,* while, on the other hand, the

* "En Turquie, la beauté passe vite, et les femmes, n'étant et ne pouvant être estimées qu'en raison de leurs charmes, s'efforcent

conscription for the army, which is raised entirely from the Mussulmans, has also an important influence in the same direction. But both these causes combined would not alone account for the fact that the Turks are rapidly becoming extinct, as these causes would but check or diminish the natural rate of increase. The evil lies far deeper. "The hideous revolting profligacy of all classes, and of almost every individual," says the Rev. William Denton, "is the main cause for the diminution. This is a canker

de retarder l'époque de la décrépitude, qui pour elles commence presque au sortir de la jeunesse. Redoutant par dessus tout les douleurs de l'enfantement et les soins de la maternité, elles préviennent par tous les moyens possibles le travail mystérieux que pourrait développer dans leur sein un germe de vie, et si la nature vient á tromper leur coupable prévoyance, elles ne reculent pas devant l'infanticide. C'est ainsi que la société turque, en proie à toutes les fureurs des bestiales jouissances, gravite entre ces deux pôles de la dépravation: les aphrodisiaques et les avortements! L'infanticide n'est pas inconnu dans les pays chrétiens; mais il s'y produit sous l'empire d'une préoccupation qui, jusqu'à un certain point, fait tourner le crime même à l'honneur de notre civilisation Chez nous, c'est la honte et le remords qui le provoquent; en Turquie, c'est l'absence de tout sentiment moral; chez nous, il est la conséquence funeste d'une atteinte portée aux lois qui régissent les rapports des sexes; en Turquie, il est accompli par des femmes qui peuvent, sans déshonneur, être mères; chez nous, il se cache par respect pour la société et par crainte de la justice; en Turquie, il se pratique pour ainsi dire au grand jour et sous la protection du gouvernement."—"*Les Turcs et la Civilisation*," *par Alexandre Bonneau.*

which has eaten into the very vitals of society. It is one, however, which has taken so unspeakably loathsome a form that no pen dares describe the immoral state of Turkish society. It must be abandoned to vague generalities, for happily the imagination cannot picture the abominations which are fast exterminating the whole Turkish race. If, in the certainty of outraging decency, some hints even were given, they would necessarily fall so far short of the truth that they would have the effect of eulogy by making men believe that the horrid details of guilt revealed in any degree the real corruption of this deeply polluted race. I have the evidence now before me of persons at present resident in Turkey, as well as of English officers high in the civil service, whose duties have made them acquainted with the real state of society in Turkey; and in addition to these, I have a voluminous report addressed to me by a distinguished foreigner, formerly a colonel in the Turkish service, and, from the varied offices which he has filled in that country, of all men one of the most competent witnesses. I have all this evidence before me, but it is so disgusting and obscene that I dare not make use of it. The Satires of Juvenal and Petronius Arbiter are decorous in comparison. Students may remember how rabbinical writers describe the sins of the Amorites and other inhabitants of the land of Canaan, who for their revolting sins were driven out by the children of Israel. That description gives but a partial picture of

what is the present state of Turkish society. The Cities of the Plain were destroyed for sins which are the common, normal, every-day practice of this people.

"And, be it remembered, I am not speaking of the dregs of society—the outcasts of humanity—herding together at Constantinople or Damascus; I speak of powerful Pashas, of some of the present Ministers of the Sultan. It is perfectly notorious that these Pashas are men so foul and obscene in their lives that the 'most infamous ruffians of the Haymarket' would shrink from them as beings sunk immeasurably beneath themselves, and as too polluted for companionship. Several at least of the present advisers of the Sultan were educated in the harem (the rest of my sentence must of necessity be in a dead language), atque ibi cinædi et pathici juventutem agebant. Iisdem in gubernationem regni promovendis primus ad honores et imperia gradus extitit quod libidini regiæ morigerentur. Ea autem ipsa flagitia quibus in pueritiâ et adolescentiâ sunt imbuti maturi viri consequuntur et pueros haud paucos, in quibus libidinem exerceant, æquè ac puellas, in domûs secretiore parte conservare solent. If these are the "good and worthy men" of Turkey, what are the ordinary inhabitants of that country? And what honesty, what forbearance, what truth can be expected when these are the rulers of the Ottoman Empire?

"It is painful to speak thus, though it is only an approximation to the horrors and licentiousness of

Turkish society. It is better, however, to shock the reader rather than that, through ignorance, we should continue to 'maintain,' to 'foster,' and to 'patronize' such a condition of society. Half the world knows what we are doing: it is high time that we were also conscious, and that we should consider whether any theory, or fancy, or chimera about the balance of power, or the 'integrity of Turkey,' will justify our maintenance of such unspeakable wickedness. It is this corruption, this revolting form of brutal sensuality, which makes the presence of a Turkish garrison so grievous a wrong to the Christians in its neighbourhood. If in Constantinople—in the chief city of the empire—in the presence of European civilization, such a state of things exists, what must be the condition of the people who, in Bosnia, the Herzegovina, Bulgaria, &c., live near these abodes of sin and pollution, with a fierce fanatical soldiery free from all moral restraints, and encouraged by their officers in every act of hostility towards the Christians? It is unnatural horrors of this kind, even more than the numerous murders and acts of rapine which mark the presence of a Turkish garrison, against which the Christian inhabitants are now protesting. They pray that their young children may be spared from the sight of such deeds. They pray that they may have some safeguard that their sons and daughters may no longer be carried off.

"It cannot be that they will always pray in vain

to a Christian people. If treaties be pleaded as a hindrance to our active assistance in their behalf, let us at any rate not encourage the wrongdoers in the perpetration of these acts of abomination and wickedness. Nay, rather let the sight and the love which we bear our own children, sheltered happily from such dangers, quicken our sympathies for the oppressed, and move us to desire at least that they may soon possess that liberty which is our inheritance; but, above all, that they may obtain that freedom from the contamination of those horrid forms of vice to which all are exposed who are forced to live in contact with Turks."*

The time, however, has at length arrived when this state of things can no longer be permitted to exist, and the Great Powers are now bound to take action in reference to an alien people who, after establishing themselves in Europe by violence, persecute and ruin the native populations, cause them to groan under taxation and forced labour, play with their lives and their honour, profess an eternal hatred of their faith and of our institutions, outrage humanity by their laws, menace the general peace by their weakness and incapacity, scandalize the world by their vices, crush industry in the most fertile parts of Europe, and sequester from civilization twelve millions of human beings.

* "The Christians in Turkey." By the Rev. Wm. Denton, M.A.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIANS OF TURKEY.

THE clouds that have so long been gathering in the south-east of Europe were not likely to disperse without a storm, and the storm has at length burst over the valleys of the Sarenta and the Drina. The rival standards of the Crescent and the Cross have once more called their followers to arms, and the power of the Turk over his vassal provinces is in deadly peril. The Nemesis that follows waste and improvidence, and avenges tyranny and misgovernment now confronts the Sultan's Ministers, and they find themselves face to face with the inevitable—in the presence of insurrection at home and weakened confidence abroad. Supported as Turkey has been, during the past twenty years, she might to-day have been surrounded by powerful friends, and able to defy her enemies; but the only bravery she has shown is in defying public opinion. The "Old Turkish party" that came into power four years ago, on the death of A'ali Pasha, and is now represented by the present Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, rejoiced at the humiliation of France and the isolation of England. They chafed under,

what they considered, the "tutelage" of their friends, and, like children in their ignorance, they preferred those who spoilt and flattered them. England and France will never again fight for the "integrity" of Turkey, and the partition of the Empire is, therefore, only a question of time.

The insurrection in the Herzegovina was caused, it is said, by the rapacity and oppression of Turkish officials.* The extravagances of the Sultan and the wasteful expenditure of the Porte must be supplied, even though the people starve. But these grievances are not new ones; they are as old as the Turkish occupation itself. Of these grievances, however, the English public has been lamentably ignorant, and that ignorance, I regret to say, is owing, in a great measure, to the former policy of the English Government. The facts which ought to have been made known have been withheld, and the consequence is that the sympathies of Englishmen for their fellow-Christians in Turkey are not as strong as they would naturally be if the true state of things had been communicated. "When I was in Turkey," says Dr. Sandwith, well-known as the chief of the medical staff during the siege of Kars, "I had a long conversation with a consul, who told me stories that curdled my blood with horror concerning the cruelties and barbarities of

* See Appendix I. Report of the Consul of one of the Great Powers in the insurgent district, on the history of the Insurrection, and the causes which immediately led to it.

the Turks towards the Christians. Wherever a Pasha could plunder, he never cared what ruin and misery were the result. The consul showed me clearly how inevitably the country was being ruined and depopulated. 'At all events,' I remarked, 'you have the satisfaction of reporting all these horrors in your dispatches!' 'Oh dear, no,' he answered, 'I dare not. We have received more than a hint that our Government is determined to uphold Turkey; and if I were to tell the truth, and describe things as they really are, my career would be ruined. More than one consul has been severely snubbed for doing so.' On another occasion, I heard also from a consular official of a horrible case of judicial torture. I asked for the details. He durst not give me them, and told me the case would not be reported, as the consuls had been made to understand that any reports unfavourable to the Turks would be unwelcome to the Embassy.'"

In the early part of 1860, Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed a circular to the Great Powers of Europe, pointing out the continuance of that injustice of which the Christians in Turkey had so long complained, and which the Porte had, at various periods, for upwards of thirty years, promised should be removed. In that circular the following statement occurs:—

The attention which the discussions upon the condition of the East has excited throughout Europe, makes us desirous of freeing

from all error and false and exaggerated interpretation the part which the Imperial Cabinet has taken, and the object which it proposes to itself in this matter.

For more than a year the official reports of our agents in Turkey have made us acquainted with the increasingly serious condition of the Christian provinces under the rule of the Porte, and especially of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. This condition does not date from to-day, but, far from getting better, as was hoped, it has become worse during the last few years.

In this conviction, after having, on the one hand, vainly sought to enlighten the Turkish Government on the gravity of the circumstances, by communicating to it successively all the accounts which have been made known to us of the abuses committed by local authorities; and after having, on the other hand, exhausted all means of persuasion that we could use among the Christians, in order to induce them to patience, we have frankly and loyally addressed ourselves to the Cabinets of the Great Powers of Europe. We have explained to them the circumstances, as described in the reports of our agents; the imminence of a crisis; our conviction that isolated representations, sterile or palliative promises, will no longer suffice as a preventive; and also the necessity of an understanding of the Great Powers among themselves and with the Porte, that they will consult together as to the measures which can alone put an end to this dangerous state of things. We have not made absolute propositions as to the course to be adopted We have confined ourselves to showing the urgency, and indicating the object. As to the first, we have not concealed the fact that it appears to us to admit of no doubt, and to allow of no delay.

First of all, an immediate local inquiry, with the participation of Imperial delegates, in order to verify the reality of the facts; next, an understanding which it is reserved for the Great Powers to establish with each other and with the Porte, in order to engage it to adopt the necessary organic measures for bringing about in

its relations with the Christian populations of the empire, a real, serious, and durable amelioration.

There is nothing here, then, in the shape of an interference wounding to the dignity of the Porte. We do not suspect its intentions; it is the Power most interested in a departure from the present situation. Be it the result of blindness, tolerance, or feebleness, the concurrence of Europe cannot but be useful to the Porte, whether to enlighten its judgment or to fortify its action. There can no longer be a question of an attack on its rights, which we desire to see respected, or of creating complications, which it is our wish to prevent. The understanding which we wsh to see established between the Great Powers and the Turkish Government, must be to the Christians a proof that their fate is taken into consideration, and that we are seriously occupied in ameliorating it. At the same time, it will be to the Porte a certain pledge of the friendly intentions of the Powers which have placed the conservation of the Ottoman Empire among the essential conditions of the European equilibrium. Thus, both sides ought to see in it a motive; the Turkish Government, for confidence and security—tke Christians, for patience and hope. Europe, on its part, after past experience, will not, in our opinion, find elsewhere than in this moral action the guarantees which a question of first rank demands, with which its tranquillity is indissolubly connected, and in which the interests of humanity mingle with those of policy. Our August Master has never disavowed the strong sympathy with which the former inspire him. His Majesty desires not to burden his conscience with the reproach of having remained silent in the face of such sufferings, when so many voices are raised elsewhere, under circumstances much less imperious. We are, moreover, profoundly convinced that this order of ideas is inseparable from the political interest which Russia, like all the other Powers, has in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire.

We trust that these views are shared by all the Cabinets; but we are also convinced that the time for illusions is past, that any

hesitation, any adjournment, will have grave consequences. In combining, with all our efforts, to place the Ottoman Government in a course which may avert these eventualities, we believe that we are giving it a proof of our solicitude, while at the same time we fulfil a duty to humanity.

Upon the receipt of this circular, Sir H. Bulwer, acting under the instructions of the English Government, drew up a list of questions, which he sent to the various consuls throughout Turkey. No persons could, from their position, better speak on such a subject; none would be more ready to furnish evidence which would contradict the assertions of the Russian note, provided that this were possible. From their answer, honestly, faithfully, and intelligently given, we might have had a luminous survey of the Turkish Empire. Such a report would have been invaluable. It was not likely that English consuls would exaggerate the unhappy condition of the Christians, since they had been made to feel in many ways that even truth on this subject was "unwelcome to the Embassy." Before sending in their answers, however, they were reminded that their very bread depended upon the will of his Excellency the Ambassador, for Sir Henry Bulwer wrote to the Consuls, in his circular of August 8, 1860 :—

Her Majesty's Government wishes, as you well know, to maintain the Ottoman Empire,—which in its fall would produce a general disorganization in the East, accompanied, probably, by war throughout the world,—the whole producing a series of disasters

which would certainly not benefit any class in Turkey, and would be likely to cause great calamities to mankind. . . . . I assure you that your conduct at this crisis will be duly watched by me, and my opinion respecting it, whether favourable or the reverse, communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

I need not pursue this point further; but shall give one more extract from the Rev. Mr. Denton's valuable work, which places the subject in a light that cannot be misunderstood. The Rev. Mr. Denton says:—

"By means, then, such as these—the systematic suppression of information—the requiring our consular agents to make one-sided, partial, and coloured statements, and, when all these fail, boldly resorting to something so like to untruth that it cannot be distinguished from it—are the interests of the public of this country diverted from the sufferings of the people of the East. But, let us bear in mind, in our zeal to preserve, at all hazards, 'the integrity of Turkey,' that the integrity of our public men is greatly suffering, and the honour and humanity of England are in danger of becoming bywords in many parts of the world. It would surely be more manly, more honourable, more politic, to grapple with the real facts of the case. It would be better—for honesty is still the best policy—to acknowledge that though the Government of Turkey is hopelessly dead or dying; though the moral corruption of all classes in that country, but especially of its rulers, has reached such a stage that it is too polluting a subject to be even

mentioned, still less detailed; though the unhappy subject races are exposed to daily massacres and to outrages worse than death; though portions of the empire, naturally amongst the most fertile on the globe, are now a waste wilderness, trodden only by the feet of wandering Bedawîn, or by some Christian flying from the intolerable oppression of his savage masters; yet that in despite of all this it is for some reason or another so important to England to maintain all these abominations that we are resolved to do so. It would be better to acknowledge this; but not at the cost of our own 'integrity' to attempt to conceal that which is notoriously and unhappily true. We might still plead, if we would, that all this accumulated misery and evil notwithstanding, it is sound policy to perpetuate these horrors, to sustain this crumbling pillar, and to prop this falling edifice of Ottoman power. I confess that both humanity and policy are, in my opinion, damaged by the course which the Foreign Office pursued; but, at any rate, if necessary, let that course be held to without resorting to equivocation, deceit, and falsehood. Such weapons indicate a desperate cause, or they will injure that which, but for their use, need not be despaired of.

"The witnesses who, in many cases, are our own consuls settled in Turkey, write with an evident consciousness that any bias in favour of the oppressed races of that country would be 'unwelcome to the Embassy,' and as Sir Henry Bulwer informed them in

writing, to the British Government, yet testify to these facts :—

"'I. That the most fertile provinces in Turkey, formerly and even recently covered with flourishing villages and occupied by industrious inhabitants, are now waste and desolate, filled only with ruin, the mouldering remains of slaughtered men and children, and with prowling beasts of prey. That the former inhabitants have been massacred or driven away, and that the sands of the desert are fast encroaching upon what were formerly the most fruitful lands on the globe.

"'II. That moral corruption the most horrible, and sensuality the most loathsome, has become *universal* amongst the Turkish people, and is fast depopulating the empire and destroying the whole Mussulman race.

"'III. That alarm and terror for the lives and honour of their families reign in every quarter of the Turkish empire. That there is no security for industry, no safety for life; and that with the diminution of the dominant race, the jealousy and hatred of the Turk towards the Christian is acquiring fresh force.

"'IV. That no attempt has been made by the Turkish Government to fulfil the engagements which, from time to time, it has entered into with the Great Powers of Europe to guard against the oppression of the subject race.

"'V. That in the Christian races of Turkey, and in them only, are there any signs of life, and that their rapid increase in numbers and material prosperity, as well as the extension of education amongst them, together with their superior industry and morality, afford the only hope for the future.'

"That the condition of the Christian people of Turkey—the large mass of the population of that country—presents the sad spectacle which I have here indicated, I believe no one at all acquainted with the subject will deny. The utmost that the apologists of Turkey are accustomed to plead is, that the depopulation, the massacres, the cruel acts of injustice practised toward the Christians, arise not from the direct action of the Turkish Government, but from the corruption of the officers and the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, which it is too feeble to restrain or punish. This, no doubt, is in part true; but then it ought to be remembered that the very feebleness of the central Government arises from its injustice. But, indeed, this is only true in part. The men who compose the Turkish Government—the owners of the sumptuous palaces which fringe the Bosphorus, are in no degree removed above the crowd in intelligence, in uprightness, in morality; and much of the ruin which lies like a heavy blight on the land, and the present hopeless condition of the Ottoman Empire, arise from the positive sins of its Government, its miserable

faithlessness towards its subjects, as well as from its inherent powerlessness.

"Practically, however, it is of little consequence to men who suffer, to what quarter the source of the evil of which they complain may be traced. A peasant who is stripped of his property because he is a Christian—whose testimony in a court of justice is refused for the same reason—who has been arbitrarily imprisoned—whose wife and daughter have been outraged, and whose sons have been executed because they ventured to defend the honour of their mother and sisters—derives no comfort from being told that all these things have happened, not from the vice and corruption of the Government, but only from its want of power to protect. And let it be remembered, that every means which statecraft can devise—protocols without number, alliances on all sides, conventions to avoid wars, and wars which have happened notwithstanding—have all been resorted to with the view of infusing new life into the veins of that dying body, and to give it artificial strength, but all without avail. The ruin goes on at an accelerated speed—the feeble Government is becoming every day more hopelessly feeble."*

In the chapter on "Turkish Administration," I

* I have quoted the Rev. Mr. Denton's remarks on this important subject, because he has resided, for some time, in Bosnia, and his testimony, as a clergyman of the Church of England, will, I feel assured, be accepted as impartial.

have described some of the burdens under which the Christians suffer. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina, however, those burdens are beyond human endurance.

The tithe, instead of a tenth, is now the sixth, the third, and frequently the half of the produce of the soil; and when the Government has satisfied its claims, enormously increased by the cupidity of the tax-gatherers, the Moslem Beys, in their turn, claim their feudal dues. They take from the Christian Rayah a third of his crop of wheat, barley, oats, vegetables, fruits, &c., besides the half of his hay, and they compel each family to sow twenty okes of wheat for their special use. When the Bey travels, he quarters himself on the unfortunate Rayah, who is compelled to maintain him and his followers. The Bey makes his own bill of fare, selects the animals to be killed, and conducts himself as master of the house and all in it, even to the wife and daughter of the Christian if he have either unfortunate enough to be sufficiently attractive. In a recent letter, the correspondent of *The Times* says:—"I questioned the people as to their special grievances, and they all said the same thing—the Turks robbed them, took whatever they wanted, their animals, whatever they had in their houses, and even their daughters, when they took a fancy to them, and they never saw them any more."

Neither the property, the honour, nor the life of a Christian is secure in Turkey. The state of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, especially, is a state of inextri-

cable disorder, of general pillage and tyranny, of which Englishmen can have no conception; and from which the only relief is to be found in an appeal to arms. The Christian Rayah is a mere slave, whose labour and whose life are at the disposal of his Mussulman oppressor, who does not even spare the wife or daughter of his victim. The evidence of a Christian against a Turk is inadmissible in the Courts,* and the murder of a Christian, or the violation of a Christian woman, is absolutely unnoticed by the law. The present insurrection had its rise in the violation, by some Mussulmans, of two women of Nevesinje, one of whom died from the violence she suffered. The Christian relatives, knowing that no complaint against the offenders would be heard in a Mussulman Court, took a short road to justice, and killed the Mussulmans. The friends of the latter retaliated, and the little flame grew to a great one, because every Christian had some wrong to avenge, and knew there was no justice in the land.

According to Turkish law, if a Mussulman violate

* A Christian, some time ago, brought an action against a Turk in one of the principal tribunals of the Herzegovina, and offered the testimony of some of his co-religionists. "The evidence of a Christian against a Mussulman is not admitted before the tribunal of God," replied the judge. "But," pleaded the Christian, "the Tanzimat?" "Ghiaour," answered the judge, "the Porte can grant what it wishes and to whom it wishes; as for us Mussulmans, we only know one law and one Tanzimat—the Koran—as we know only one God, whose prophet is Mahommed."

a Christian woman, and convert her to Islamism, he is considered to have done a meritorious act. Mr. Abbott, our Consul at the Dardanelles, says:—"A custom prevails here to exempt from military conscription a Mussulman young man who elopes with a Christian girl, and whom he converts to his faith. This being considered a meritorious act for his religion, it entitles him, as a reward, to be freed from military service." When a premium is thus held out for the violation of Christian maidens, it is not to be wondered at that such cases are frequent. As to conversion, the unfortunate girl has no alternative, for if she appeal to the Courts for redress, her evidence as a Christian is not admitted, and consequently she oftentimes embraces Islamism as the only means of covering her dishonour. We have often heard of brigandage in Turkey, but the history of the celebrated Bulgarian bandit, Koushtchou Oglou, will give some idea of how men are forced into lawless acts by the oppression and lustful passions of the Turks. The story is told in the *Revue Contemporaine*, by Mdme. Caroline Suchodolska, wife of an officer in the "Cossacks of the Sultan:"—"Many years ago, when Koushtchou was a young man, his personal beauty and skill in all athletic exercises made him a universal favourite, and the village girls used all their arts to attract him. His choice fell on a beautiful maiden named Mitza, whose parents, poor but respectable peasants of an adjoining village, fully approved his suit. All went well for a

time, and preparations were made for the betrothal of the young couple; but, unfortunately, Koushtchou was called away to a distant district on business, and Mitza went with her father to work in a field belonging to a wealthy Turkish Pasha in the vicinity. The Pasha was struck with her beauty and innocence, and he seized and violated her. His passion, however, was short-lived, and he soon abandoned the unfortunate Mitza. Meanwhile, Koushtchou, having earned a sufficient sum to enable him to marry, returned to his village and claimed the hand of his betrothed. Mitza dreaded to tell her lover of her shame, and made no objection to his proposal, and the ceremony of betrothal, which, in Bulgaria, is held to be almost as binding as that of marriage, was performed in the presence of all the principal people of the village. But she could not long conceal her disgrace. The consequences were terrible. Her father died of shame and grief; she became a maniac, and still wanders about the hills, an object of fear and adoration to the superstitious peasants, who look upon idiots as sacred; and Koushtchou fled to the hills, vowing vengeance against the Turks. Since then he has led the life of a sort of Bulgarian Fra Diavolo. Accompanied by a devoted band of followers, he scoured the whole country, killing every Turk he met, and imposing contributions on his countrymen to support him in his lawless pursuits. His popularity among the women contributed greatly to the impunity with

which he carried on his depredations. In every village there was a girl who acted as his accomplice, informing him whenever a rich Turk happened to be passing through, and warning him against the approach of the troops. He soon obtained such a reputation among the villagers that they never thought of resisting his demands for food, clothing, or money for his band, especially as it was known that he appropriated a considerable proportion of his booty to the maintenance of churches, the relief of the poor, and other charitable objects. An attempt was once made by the Government to capture him through another bandit, name Hussein, who was then confined in a Turkish prison. Hussein was liberated, and promised a large reward if he would betray his former chief; but he only joined his former companions, and, being captured a second time, was burnt alive by the troops. The attempts made last year to stir up an insurrection in Bulgaria were to a great extent carried out with Koushtchou's co-operation. The Cossacks pursued him for months all over the Balkan, and succeeded in breaking up his band and capturing its principal chiefs; but they failed to catch Koushtchou himself. On one occasion an old Turkish woman came to them with a Bulgarian priest, saying that she knew the bandit's hiding-place, and was in the habit of bringing him bread and brandy every day; but when the troops came to the spot the bird had flown. It was afterwards found that Koushtchou had been

warned of his danger by the old woman's daughter. who had fallen in love with the bandit, and had walked several miles over the mountains to save him. He then escaped to Bucharest, where he has since been employed with the 'Bulgarian Committee.'"

When neither the life nor the honour of a family is regarded, it may easily be imagined what little respect is paid to the rights of property. The usual method of wringing out the imposts from the Christian peasants in Bosnia is to tie them up in a small apartment and apply fire to green or half-dried wood until the place is filled with smoke. When the Christian is half-suffocated the money is sometimes extracted. Often, however, this fails, for the poor wretch has not sufficient means, and he is left to perish. A short time since a poor widow woman had been assessed by the Turkish authorities of a village in Bosnia, on the Servian frontiers, at a sum which she had no means of paying. She was smoked. This failed of extracting the gold. She begged for a remission, and stated her inability to pay. In answer she was tossed into the River Drina, and after her were thrown her two infant children, one of four years old, the other of two. Before her eyes, notwithstanding her frantic efforts to save them, her children perished. Half-drowned and insensible, she was dragged to land by a Servian peasant.

It would fill volumes if I were to fully describe the wrongs and suffering of the Christians, but the follow-

ing narrative will illustrate the way in which Turkey is governed, and the manner in which the Rayahs are oppressed :—"A short time since the inhabitants of a little village in Roumelia were called upon to pay the taxes, at which they had been assessed by the authorities of the district in which the village is situated. When the principal inhabitants had assembled, they did what probably many others would have done in like circumstances, they rather discussed the means by which the tax might be evaded than the mode of paying it. After many schemes had been suggested, the only means which appeared satisfactory to those who were present, was to compel some inhabitant who was not present to pay the whole assessment. In the outskirts of the village resided a Christian peasant, who owned a small strip of ground, which he cultivated for his maintenance. He was industrious, and was supposed to possess a hoard of money. Indeed, as he had only one child—a son who assisted him in the cultivation of his rood of land—how could he spend all his earnings? It was evident, so his Mussulman neighbours argued, there must be a store somewhere, and it was resolved that he should be compelled to pay the whole amount at which the village was assessed. By this means it was clear that the claim of the Porte would be satisfied, and the rest of the villagers would be lightened from the burden about to be imposed upon them. The discussion took place in the presence of the Cadi. He assured the assembly that it was a

matter of indifference how the money was procured, provided that it was duly paid to him. After some deliberation as to the best means of wringing the whole sum from one peasant, the following plan was suggested, matured, and finally carried out. It was agreed that the rest of the villagers should seize his only child, a lad of some sixteen years, and imprison him until his father should ransom him for the sum at which the whole village was assessed; and that the Cadi should suspend the collection of the tax until this means had been tried. In order that this functionary should not, however, pocket the ransom himself, and then levy the tax upon the villagers, a deed was drawn up and witnessed according to the forms of Turkish law, by which the Cadi covenanted to accept the money thus to be wrung from the parent in lieu of all claim upon the rest of the villagers; to hold the boy in his custody until the ransom should be paid, and to release him as soon as this should be done. It was seed-time, and the lad, wholly unconscious of the plot, was employed with his parents in ploughing and sowing their little piece of ground, when he was seized, carried off to the Cadi, and, amidst the cries of his mother and the entreaties of his father, thrown in prison, with the intimation that he should be released when the money was paid. The village was but ill-supplied with prison buildings, and the boy was thrust into the small dome, of some six feet square, which covered an unused well. Day by day the

parents came, but could not weary the patience of the unjust but impassive judge. The only answer which they received was that when the money was brought the boy should be released. The parents were not wealthy; they had no hoard; the supposition of their fellow-villagers was unfounded; they had nothing save the small strip of land which they cultivated for their daily needs. The last thing which a peasant will give up in Turkey is the privilege of being a landed proprietor. The father, who loved his son, clung, however, to his bit of garden ground, and exhausted all other means of raising the required sum before selling his land. He appealed to the authorities of the district. He was referred by them for redress to the Cadi, by whom the wrong was done. Desparing of any other means of delivering his child, the wretched parents now endeavoured to collect the money which the Cadi required. Their furniture was first sold, then their tools and implements of husbandry were parted with. The sum thus obtained fell so far short of the amount required, that it was at length evident that the rood of ground, the family estate, must be parted with. This also was sold, and still there lacked a portion of the total sum required. The Cadi was inexorable, and rigidly upright. The Government expected so much from the village, and so much must be brought before the lad could be released. At length the last piastre was procured, and the wretched parents hastened joyfully to the Cadi with the whole amount. All this had

taken upwards of ten months to collect, and for so long a time the poor lad had been subjected to the horrors of solitary confinement, in total darkness, and in a dungeon only a few feet in extent, in which it was impossible to stand upright. The floor, partly of rough stones and partly of mud, was equally cold and damp, and on this he had sat and lain and lain and sat for more than ten months. On receiving the money the Cadi assembled the villagers; the deed was recited, the money exhibited, and the legal instrument duly cancelled with all the mocking formalities of law. And now the prison door, or what served for a door, was unbarred to the parents, and they were permitted to look again upon their child. For a time nothing moved within the narrow limits of the cell; the call of his mother could elicit no signs of life in the poor prisoner. At length a bundle of humanity was dragged out; it breathed, it stirred; but these were the only tokens of life which could be seen. Signs of humanity there were none. The limbs had been contracted by cold, wet, rheumatism, and by the crouching posture which the poor lad had been compelled to assume, and he could only crawl on all-fours like a beast. His face resembled a skull covered with dirty parchment, and he was hopelessly an idiot. How long since reason had given way his jailors could not tell. He was now a slobbering, jabbering idiot. The light, and joy, and hope of his parents' cottage was not merely quenched, it had become a palpable and noisome blackness. Amidst the wails

of the parents, and the 'God is great' of the persecutors, the crowd dispersed, some cursing more deeply than ever the despotism which rendered them liable to atrocities such as these. This incident is but a specimen of what the Christians throughout Bosnia, Roumelia, and Bulgaria are now enduring. I could narrate acts of atrocious cruelty and wrong which would go far beyond this; but I have selected this anecdote because I can tell it on other authority than that of a Servian or a Dalmatian. I did not hear it from a suffering, and, therefore, a 'prejudiced Bosniac,' or a 'lying Greek.' Amongst the crowd which witnessed this horror, amongst the many who saw the shattered remains of this poor and innocent lad dragged forth from his cell and handed to his parents by the Cadi, were the British consul and his wife, and from their lips I heard this tale of barbarity." *

A sample of the justice meted out in Herzegovina, at the present moment, is given by the special correspondent of *The Times*, in a recent letter from Mostar:—"I saw one of the victims of it," says the writer, "before I left Ragusa just released from three years' imprisonment in irons, and I heard his story; but to-day I have heard confirmation, and additional details from an authentic source, not to be charged with Slav-leanings. A certain young man, from the neighbourhood of Trebinje, had, in a quarrel, killed an Aga, and fled to Montenegro. His nearest

* "Servia and the Servians." By the Rev. Wm. Denton, M.A.

male relations were, therefore, arrested to the number of six, and thrown into prison, being tortured in various ways to compel confession of complicity, two being put in long wooden boxes, like coffins, and rolled down hill; others being stood upright, with their heads in a hole in the floor of the prison, which allowed them to rest on their shoulders, having splinters of wood driven under their finger-nails (the boy I saw in Ragusa gave a minute account of the operation, sickening in its fidelity to detail). The father of the murderer died in prison, and one of the cousins was taken out of the prison here in Mostar, just five days before the Consular Commission arrived, and hung before one of the Mosques, to calm the excitement of the Bashi-bazouks, the ruffians who, to show their sense of such occasional luxuries, had only six days ago planned a general massacre of the Christians of Mostar, and were only dissuaded from their scheme by being assured, by one of the more prudent Agas, that such a feat would only result in the Austrian army taking possession of the country." *

Even after death the Christian is not safe from Mussulman brutality, and the desecration of Christian graves is by no means an unfrequent occurrence. "Those interested in the country," says the *Levant Herald*, "will remember the elaborate funeral honours which were paid in the middle of last July to the remains of Bib-Doda, Prince of the Myrdites, when

* See *The Times* of November 11, 1875.

those remains were carried to their last resting-place. A guard of honour was posted by the Yuzbashi (the local captain in command) in the cemetery in which the prince was interred; but on the remonstrances of Ismail Pasha, the governor, and of the military commandant, who maintained that this special demonstration was not warranted by the rank of the deceased, nor by the custom of the country, this guard was suppressed on the 27th of July. It happened that during the night of July 30, some profane hand violated Bib-Doda's grave, and, on the following morning, the body of the prince was found at some distance with the face disfigured, the eyes torn from their sockets, the arms twisted, and the cross broken over his head. As the corpse was found with its rich costume of a general officer untouched, with none of the valuable objects which adorned it removed, it was impossible to ascribe the profanation of the prince's tomb to vulgar malefactors animated by a love of plunder. The outrage had its origin, evidently, in the fanaticism of some Mussulmans who wished to insult, in the person of the deceased, the race of the Myrdites and the Christians generally."

In his account of the siege of Kars, Dr. Sandwith has printed a burial certificate which was given when a Christian died.* It is as follows:—

We certify to the priest of the church of Mary, that the impure,

* "Narrative of the Siege of Kars," by Humphry Sandwith, Esq., M.D., C.B.

putrified, stinking carcase of Saideh, damned this day, may be concealed underground.

"Sealed. EL SAID MEHEMED FAIZI.

"A.H. 1271. Rejib 11.
(March 29, A.D. 1855.")

When people talk of reforms in Turkey, let them read this burial certificate, and ask themselves if it is probable that men imbued with the hated and contempt which that document evinces for the Christians, will ever carry out such reforms as would place the Rayah on an equality with the Mussulman. The Turks may grant nominal reforms, as they did the Hatt-y-Humayoun, but those reforms will never be faithfully carried out unless by force, and under the supervision of the Great Powers.

It has been frequently stated by those who uphold the despotic rule of the Sultan, that the Christians of European Turkey are not fit for self-government; that they have "no independence of character" that they are "ignorant, lying, and intriguing;" that their clergy and municipal officers are "rapacious," and that the whole race is "degraded and pusillanimous." There is some truth in this; but the wonder is, that, after four hundred years of persecution and slavery, they have any manhood left. "It is the curse of slavery," says the Rev. Wm. Denton,* "that it brings forth men in the fruits of slavery; and when we see such fruit, we

* I here again prefer quoting the Rev. Mr. Denton, as being an impartial and disinterested observer.

are sure what the root must be. I know no heavier accusation against the Government of Turkey than that it makes men abject and lying, pusillanimous and miserly; that it destroys independence of character, and that it degrades the whole man. The peasant, whose life and the lives of his children are at the mercy of his neighbours, cringes and submits to degrading acts until he acquires the habit of cringing. The man whose property may be seized at any moment by the meanest village official, will, I am afraid, pretty generally 'intrigue' and 'lie' to preserve his hard-earned and dearly-prized possessions. This is the aspect which human nature invariably presents. But is this any excuse for slavery and oppression? Nay, but its severest reproach. If the Christians of Turkey were invariably honest, munificent, manly—if, in short, they had all the virtues of free men, then I, for one, would be content that they should remain under the rule of the Sultan. The assertion that these virtues are not to be found—at least, in profusion—but that the subject races are degraded by vices of this kind, is the strongest condemnation which can be uttered against the system of government by which they are weighed down and debased. Slaves are not free men, neither have they the virtues of freedom. This is why slavery is so bitter a wrong, not that it diminishes the pleasures of the senses, but that it destroys the dignity of manhood; and because I long for the day when our

brethren of the East may be distinguished for independence of character, when they may be truthful, honest, and courageous—in a word, free men—I desire they may be free. They cannot possess those qualities of the heart and soul so long as they are trampled under foot by their present masters. It is because you cannot graft these virtues upon the stock of abject subjection that I pray for their deliverance from their present bondage. It is because you cannot gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles, that I would that the thorns and thistles might no longer be permitted to hinder the growth of those fruits which they cannot themselves produce."

The Great Powers are now once more intent on proposing to the Sultan the adoption of reforms in Turkey. But the radical and fatal defect of all the reforms hitherto attempted has been that they were based on the fusion of elements which could not possibly be amalgamated. The religious and social doctrines of Islamism are in contradiction to all the doctrines and principles of Christianity, and the application of the same *régime* to the two creeds is, therefore, utterly impracticable. All the Great Powers are now agreed that the reforms promulgated have not been honestly carried out; but England, to judge from the recent debate in the House of Commons, appears to believe that their strict execution would ensure at the same time the prosperity of the Christians and the stability of the Turkish Government.

This belief is not, however, shared in by those who possess a practical knowledge of the country, as experience has abundantly demonstrated the insufficiency of those reforms, and the disastrous consequences of the half measures hitherto adopted. Not only have the pledges contained in the Hatt-y-Humayoum of 1856 not been redeemed, but their fulfilment is impossible by any means short of a complete administrative separation of the Christian and Mussulman races. The Mahommedan law, founded as it is exclusively on the Koran, is unalterable and inviolable. Its dogmas are utterly opposed to the civil equality and political independence of the Christian subjects of a Mussulman Power, and it is astonishing that the Ottoman Government should have undertaken before Europe the responsibility of obligations which it must have known could never be discharged. I should be sorry to accuse A'ali and Fuad Pashas of a deliberate purpose to deceive Europe, as it is possible they may have underrated the obstinacy of the old provincial administrations as well as that of the Ulema, whose members pass their lives in little beyond the study of the Koran and its commentaries.* But it does not

* Mr. Consul Blunt says:—"The utmost that a Turk will attempt is to follow the old beaten track of his ancestors, in merely learning to read the Koran, and to write sufficiently well to be able to compose a letter with tolerable correctness and elegance. The Turkish Khoja, or schoolmaster, is totally ignorant of geography, general history, natural science, and modern languages; indeed, the Turks deem such knowledge to be quite useless."

matter much whether the original framers of the Hatt-y-Humayoum were sincere or not, since the fact remains that it has been found impossible to redeem its pledges, and that the same hindrances which have hitherto existed must still operate with all their old force and intensity so long as the principles of Mussulman faith continue unchanged.

The Koran commands the followers of the Prophet to "strike the Christian who does not acknowledge the true faith," and to "slay the unbeliver who refuses to yield, wherever he may be met." When Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, was preparing to invade Asia Minor, he sent his Tchaouchs to the native princes, offering them the choice of Mahommedanism or war, and, in addressing his troops, he reminded them of the precept of the Koran which orders the propagation of Islamism. "It is a duty," said he, "preferable to all the riches of the world; let us invite the Christian princes to embrace the religion of the Prophet, but if they resist the divine law, let fire and sword punish their criminal obstinacy." War between Mussulman and Christian nations is, according to the Koranic theory, permanent and necessary, and can only be suspended, not terminated, even by treaty. Christendom still remains, in spite of modern international relations, "*dar ul harb*," the country of the enemy, according to the express and received doctrine of the sacred book, which, moreover, only permits the infidel to retain life and

property on conditions incompatible with the equality of all classes before the law. Such equality is, in fact, contrary not only to the text of the Koran itself, but to the whole spirit of Mahommedan jurisprudence. The Koran and its interpreters have, it is true, established a more perfect system of equality and fraternity between all ranks and denominations of believers than that of any other legislation in existence; but the very same law creates and proclaims with equal emphasis the inferiority of the Christians to the Moslems. The former can only hold life and property under the *amân*, as an humble tributary possessing both by the good pleasure of the conqueror.* The very existence of the *amân* is utterly incompatible with the personal equality of the two communities. That equality may, for obvious reasons, be recognized at Constantinople, but it is certain to be ignored by

* The Multeka says:—"The tributary (or Christian) is to be distinguished in the beast he rides, and in his saddle, and he is not to ride a horse, he is not to work at his work with arms on, he shall not ride on a saddle like a pillion, he shall not ride on that except as a matter of necessity, and even then he shall dismount in places of public resort; he shall not wear clothes worn by men of learning, piety, and nobility. His women shall be distinguished in the street and at the baths, and he shall place in his house a sign and mark so that people may not pray for him or salute him. And the street shall be narrowed for him, and he shall pay his tribute standing, the receiver being seated, and he shall be seized by the collar, and shall be shaken, and it shall be said to him, 'Pay the tribute, oh, tributary! oh, thou enemy of God!'"

provincial magistrates, who have been taught to take the Koran and the Multeka for their rule of conduct. "The Mussulmans alone are men," said Mahommed, "they have been chosen by God to know the truth; and the proof is that I am in the midst of them. Despise every other nation, regard them with horror and distrust. They are impure; in you alone is purity." These precepts, inculcated during upwards of 1200 years, cannot be eradicated; nor can the conquering lords of so many centuries look calmly upon the slave of yesterday as the equal of to-day. In Constantinople this feeling is not so generally perceptible; but in the provinces it exists in full vigour, and the meanest Moslem peasant considers himself altogether a superior being to the richest Ghiaour in his neighbourhood; for has not Mahommed said, "The Mussulmans alone are men?"

The admission of Christians into the Imperial army as well as into the civil service of the State was formally promised by the Hatt-y-Humayoum, whilst the leading principle of the Koran is the promulgation of the faith by the force of arms. But that promise has not been fulfilled. On the contrary, the Porte appears less disposed than ever to confide administrative functions of any importance to Rayahs, and, at the present moment, there are fewer Christians in the employment of the Government than before the pretended reforms were promulgated. This, however, is easy of explanation, for, as drowning men cling with the energy of

despair to the spars of their sinking ship, so the Turks grasp with all their remaining strength the power which is rapidly escaping from their hands. The law, besides, prohibits Mussulmans to obey the orders of Christians. The Code Multeka distinctly says, "Non-Mussulman subjects cannot, under any circumstances, be placed over true believers, considering the religious and political superiority of the faithful over the infidel." Thus there is no other place in the Ottoman Empire for the Christians than that of Rayahs (herds). A Ghiaour to command true believers! to sit in the councils of the Sublime Porte! to occupy the rank of officer in the army! to dispense justice and pronounce sentences against the disciples of the Prophet! A Mussulman would laugh at the very idea. Reforms, therefore, are impossible in Turkey, and if the Great Powers still desire the strict execution of the Tanzimat, they must be logical, and order the Turks to burn the Koran and to read the Bible. Reform, such as has been urged upon the Porte, is not only a sentence against the abuses of Turkish administration, it is also a decree against the laws of Islam, and against the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, which the Treaty of Paris pretended to guarantee. Western Europe did not understand this, but the Turks were perfectly aware of their position, and it would be simple folly to expect the sincere application of the Tanzimat from them. Equality between the Christians and Mussulmans is impossible. The law founded on the Koran

denies to the Rayahs equality even before justice, and impartiality before the tribunals. Judgments by Mussulman judges are alone binding, and the oaths of true believers are alone available in the Courts. Backsheesh and bribery rule the acts of Turkish functionaries, great and small, public employments are openly bought and sold, and magistrates, without the slightest shame, sell justice to the best and last bidder. Who, then, will support reforms, when all the functionaries are interested in opposing them so as to preserve their privileges, and when the Ulema, sustained by the dervishes and the mass of the Mussulman people, stigmatize them in the name of religion. The Koran, it is true, ordains equality amongst citizens, but on the condition that the citizens shall be true believers. It subordinates liberty to a profession of religious faith, and, as a consequence, it denies all freedom. "He who takes infidels for his friends becomes like to them; and God is not the guide of wrongdoers." These words of the Koran are, for Mussulmans, a formal condemnation of reform. The Tanzimat and the Hatt-y-Humayoum doubly shock their religious susceptibilities, first, because the principal clauses are in opposition to the laws and spirit of the sacred book, and secondly, because they have a foreign source and are imposed by the Ghiaours.

Revered almost equally with the Koran, the Multeka is the religious, civil, penal, political, and military code of the Ottoman Empire, and the Hatt-y-Huma-

youm contains scarcely an article which is not in direct contradiction to the decisions of the orthodox doctors contained in that book.* Will the Tanzimat overthrow the Multeka? The answer is plain. No. The Mussulman will never adopt reform; the Turk will not humiliate himself; he will not renounce his pride, his belief, his prejudices, nor his supremacy; he will not break with the past by laving himself in the rising wave of a civilization which he abhors; he will stand firm to the last, and will preserve intact the triple treasure of his faith, his barbarism, and his corruption. Islamism is not one of those religions that can be weakened, softened, or transformed. Mahommed moulded it like a block of iron, and the doctors of the law have given it the temper of steel. Sooner or later the Moslem will disappear from Europe

* The Multeka, or digest of the Mahommedan Canon Law, was written in Arabic by a Turkish lawyer several centuries ago. It gives the decisions arrived at by the two great legists of Sunni Mahommedanism, and is the text-book and authority in the law courts throughout Turkey. Indeed, all Sunni legists in Turkey, and in other Sunni countries, study this book, and make their references to it. Cadis and Muftis take it, with other similar books, as a guide to their decisions, as our judges consult the decisions of their predecessors. It is, however, of a far greater authority than any such decisions can be amongst ourselves; because it is a fundamental principle in Turkey that no one, neither the Sultan nor the Government combined, can change or abrogate the Canon Law of that country. The Sultan rules over the Turks, but the Koran and the Multeka rule the Sultan.

but to the end he will retain all the strength of his fanaticism, and will fall with the fever of religious zeal in his brain and hatred of the accursed Ghiaour in his heart. "Fight," says the Koran, "against the unbelievers till strife be at an end, and the religion be all of God's!"

Only one of two solutions is, therefore, possible: either the principle of the Koran—that sole obstacle to all Turkish reforms—must be overridden, or the Christians must be separated from the Mahommedans, with a complete autonomy which can alone protect them from Mussulman oppression. To upset the Koran signifies the conversion of the Mahommedans to Christianity, which is simply an impossibility. Between the Turk and the Ghiaour, who is subject to him, there is a great gulf fixed, which only centuries can bridge. To dream of forcing conversion upon him would be absurd; and the age of religious wars is gone for ever. There remains, therefore, only the second of the two solutions—the separation of the Christians from the Mahommedans, and the gifting them with an independent life. The Great Powers once more urge on the Sultan the carrying out of the long-promised reforms in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. His Majesty, however, temporizes, and the Porte, with its usual duplicity, sends Server Pasha as commissioner to the revolted districts. But in the meantime the old Turkish party in Constantinople are stronger than ever, and the very men who have brought Turkey to

her present state of financial and political ruin are again in office. The appointment of Mahmoud Pasha as Grand Vizier, of Hussein Avni as Minister of War, and of Riza as Minister of Marine, was an answer to the Great Powers, and a proof that no real reforms are intended. Foreign intervention is, therefore, inevitable, for religion, justice, and humanity require it. No one can believe that the present crisis would have a lasting and a definite solution by the submission of the Christians. They may possibly be vanquished and overcome if Europe remains indifferent, but their defeat will determine nothing. The pacification of the East is impossible save by the enfranchisement of the Rayahs. Expedients and palliatives have been tried over and over again, but they will now be useless, and the only possible solution of the question is the restoration of old Turkey, with all its fanaticism and corruption, or the permanent freedom of the Christians. That is, as Earl Russell says in his letter, to obtain for the people of Croatia and the Herzegovina something of the nature of independent government similar to that enjoyed by Servia.

The Hatt-y-Humayoum, as every one personally acquainted with Turkey now knows, is only a sterile statement of principles published by men who to each clause have put mental restrictions. It may be compared to those treaties imposed by Europe on the Chinese, who sign them with the firm resolution to evade or break them on the first opportunity. There

is no government in the world more skilful in the use of words than the government of the Sultan, as some of these Imperial "Hatts" which have recently been published for the edification of Europe sufficiently testify. The Hatt-y-Humayoum of 1856 is, in effect, only a treaty concluded between the Porte and the Western Powers, and as the Koran permits the faithful to evade or break treaties made with infidels, the Mussulmans consider it as null and void. It is for them but a useless scrap of paper, a "paper," as they say, "written with honey." The fanatics regard it as a sham and an abomination, and when, some years ago, an attempt was made to introduce some of its clauses in Anatolia, the Mussulmans invaded a church during service, and, flinging a dead dog upon the altar, cried out "Behold the Hatt-y-Humayoum!" The Christian, in fact, is and always will be in Mussulman estimation a vile Ghiaour and a Kiafir. The Hatt-y-Humayoum neither guarantees his life, his honour, nor his property; and he is as much at the disposition of the true believer as he was a hundred years ago. "It is very easy for you in England," says a recent letter, "to recommend patience and resignation, for you are not afraid of being suddenly deprived of your life, your property, or your children. Here they take everything from us, and if we speak of reform they laugh in our face, if they do not kill us. The Turks have ruined the country, and live at our expense, and as they have not sufficient women of their own they

take ours, and we can say nothing. If we complain, they cast us into prison."

The time has probably not yet arrived when the Crescent shall disappear from the minarets of Saint Sophia; but although that day cannot be far distant, while the Turk is still allowed to remain in Europe let his rule be, at least, somewhat in accordance with European ideas. The Turk will kiss the hand that strikes until he has the opportunity to bite. In presence of the Great Powers he will promise anything and everything, but when all restraint is gone he will wreak his vengeance on the defenceless Christians. These unhappy people must, therefore, no longer be left to his tender mercies, and the protection afforded them for the future must be a reality, not a sham.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFUGEES.

THIS book would hardly be complete without some reference to the innocent victims of Turkish misrule who are now homeless wanderers in Servia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Montenegro. The Turks wreak their vengeance on unarmed men and defenceless women; and, to save themselves from indiscriminate slaughter, 150,000 old men, women, and children have sought refuge with, and are dependent upon strangers for the necessaries of life. "We have under our eyes," writes Baron Gondola, President of the Ladies' Committee at Ragusa, "the spectacle of the most frightful misery that it is possible to imagine. From the burnt hamlets of Herzegovina, we see each day old men, women, and children in rags, who have flocked, and are still flocking, here to seek a refuge." It is estimated that there are 50,000 refugees in Montenegro; 30,000 in Dalmatia; 30,000 in Servia, and 40,000 in Croatia. The privations of these unfortunate people can be easily imagined, but, far from diminishing, their sufferings are increasing, and, as winter advances,

they will be still more terrible. In Croatia, numerous families are living on the sides of the mountains or in caves and glens, where they find their only shelter from the inclemency of the winter, which is there as low as 16° (Reaumur) below zero.

The reports addressed to the Archbishop of Belgrade by Mr. G. Wesselitsky Bogidarovitch, Delegate in Croatia and Dalmatia of the International Committee for the relief of the refugees, give most harrowing accounts of the condition of "*the unfortunate people*," as they are called, at Ragusa. "Close to the eastern gates of the town," says Mr. Wesselitsky, "on a rather steep slope of the mountain, which here comes down towards the sea, is a large court surrounded by half crumbling walls; in the middle of it stands a fountain. The court is not paved, nor even levelled; here and there rise rocky masses, amongst which aloes are growing. Behind, an immense building, long and low—a sort of shed or depository. Both were used, at the time of the independence of Ragusa, as a pest-lazaretto. It is now a refuge for those who are visited by, perhaps, greater misfortunes than the plague. Accompanied by Baron Gondola and two ladies of the Committee of Ragusa, I passed through those groups, and entered their abodes. Long low vaults (a dark and smoky place), the bare ground, with big stones for a flooring, such was the best home that could be found for the poor people. The cattle were there as well. 'You find this horrible,' said Baron Gondola,

when he saw how shocked I was; 'but believe me, it is the best shelter for them: they can light a fire and warm themselves around.' Sure enough women were cooking some kind of black broth for the little children that were held in their arms or hiding behind their skirts; others, who were sick, were lying on the ground without even a carpet. In one corner of this enormous building we saw a small cradle before which sat, motionless, a young and handsome woman. When questioned by the ladies, who knew her well, she did not answer. One of them lifted the coarse woollen blanket, and there we saw quite a little baby, with curling hair, plump, dimpled cheeks; a smile was still lighting his pretty face, ... but he did not belong any more to this world. The mother's sister came and told us that the child who, until very lately, was merry and bright, had begun to be ill. The mother thought of getting some medicine, but she wanted ten kreutzer. She went and asked them from all her neighbours, but none possessed them. When she came back the child was dead. Nobody is to be blamed for this. The shop where she wanted to get the medicine is facing the lazaretto. She would have got gratuitously what she wanted. It was in the middle of the afternoon; there were many passers by, and each of them would have given her more than was necessary. But the poor woman had never begged, and it was easier for her to borrow from one of her own people. It may be that the medicine would not have saved her

child, but she had faith in it, and thence came her despair. It was her only child, and she had been but sixteen months married. Other places lent by the military authorities are less gloomy-looking, but no fire can be lighted there on account of the proximity of inflammable matters. The refugees already suffer from the coldness of the nights, and they can only eat cold food. It would be impossible for them to live through the winter without blankets. After having seen everything in detail, we went back to the place in front of the town-gates to see the distribution of relief. This is delivered in money, which here is found more convenient, and the refugees are better pleased; they can do what they like with it. On the inferior side of the old lazaretto, on a natural bench, sat one of the clerks holding the list; another was calling out the names. The fugitives ranged themselves in front of us on the space which goes up in an amphitheatre. One after another, slowly and reluctantly, the women came forward, some with a child at arms, others surrounded by three or four fatherless children. How hard it seemed for them to hold out their hand! For they were not beggars, but mothers who, until lately, had their own home, however small. They had been accustomed to some honest work, and they were thinking of their deserted houses and their fields. Some of them were ashamed of coming out from the crowd, and were obliged to be sought out of it. Neither cupidity nor begging; even when they are met

and have things offered to them, they do not always accept; one must then show them their children.

"How can one forget this long row of fine figures, so grand and so elegant, with a grave expression of grief and despair? There were hardly any men, except two or three invalids. The women are all healthy, strong, and full of life. 'You see them here,' said Baron Gondola, 'as they are, rich in nature. In other places, where they are not so well off, their sad fate begins to influence their exterior appearance.' And really these woman, these young girls, should be the mothers of heroes. But will their posterity survive? Where are their husbands, their brothers? It put me in mind of the population of some ancient city sold to the enemy after all the men were massacred. Mothers always live through their children. As long as *they* live they hope, but it made the heart shrink to see those little children begin life under such auspices. They generally look very much astonished; they did not understand, and yet they tried to understand what it was and wherefore. Most of the refugees were still wearing their costumes, fine, though ragged; others had already put on commoner dresses made for them by the ladies, but some of them were almost naked. It was not only their physical strength and their health which impressed us, but the look of those eyes full of intelligence and inquisitiveness; the deepness of feeling and the dignity, which moved us strongly. They were not savages to whom all must be taught;

they were not a race whose incapacity had left them in a state of barbarism in the midst of civilization. No! It is a branch of the same race which, in other countries, reaches to the highest degree of development, but which here is artificially stopped on its way upwards. Nature has given it everything, and men have taken all from it. And yet around us, all was gay and lovely; the scenery, the purple hue of the mountains, the azure of the sea, and an Italian sky! The contrast was so striking that it grieved us all. One of the ladies was quietly wiping her tears, the other was sobbing aloud; Baron Gondola was scolding them, but had to turn round to hide his emotion. I was trying to write on my note-book, but I very often could not see any more. The following days I went through the neighbourhood of Ragusa, and almost wherever the unfortunate beings were quartered. The greatest number are close to the town, at the village of Brino. They are lodged in the countrymen's houses, who have thus very little space left for themselves. In a small cottage there are sometimes ten to twelve, and even more. I could not understand how both themselves and the cottagers could bear such an encumbering. My guide told me that those I saw at Ragusa were the most fortunate. The appearance of those on the outside is still more sad. Generally out of town I saw few young women with children, but a greater number of old people, driven away in their old days from the shelter

gained by the work of a lifetime. The help is also smaller. A great many are already weighed down by misery. During my stay here, I only happened once to find out a single instance of a life apparently devoid of grief. A young girl of sixteen came to the distribution, following her old mother. She wore a flower in her hair, and she was so beautiful that one of the ladies who was with me noticed her, and said to me, 'This one, at least, has remained a woman, even in such a situation.' The young girl understood our glance, and tears ran down her face. These were the only tears I noticed amongst the poor creatures, for they are generally too broken down to show signs either of joy or grief. According to the wish of the persons who accompanied me, I spoke a few words to them. I told them I had come to inquire into their wants, that compassionate people were doing much for them, and that I was hoping help was near."

In Montenegro, the inhabitants have received the refugees into their houses, so that they all get shelter; but there is an utter absence of clothing and blankets. In Dalmatia, however, hundreds of families are still without any shelter whatever, and in Croatia, the mortality, owing to the cold, is said to be frightful. Local charity is doing its best to relieve these unfortunate people; but Baron Gondola writes to me, "The burden is beyond our strength." As the winter advances, the sufferings of the refugees will still

further increase, and, when peace is restored in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, these unhappy people will return to their villages only to find burnt homesteads and devastated fields. They will then be wholly without food, clothing, or shelter.

CHAPTER IX.

SOLUTION OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THERE are few persons who do not now admit that, in the interest of civilization and humanity, the time has at length arrived when the misrule of the Turks in Europe should cease to exist. All, however, are not agreed as to the remedies to be applied, or to the means of applying them. Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P., advocates the relegation of the Turks to Asia; while Earl Russell, although suggesting the cession of Thessaly and Epirus to Greece, and the granting of autonomy to Croatia, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, appears to think that the adoption of reforms, ensuring equality to the Christians, might solve the problem which, at the present moment, engrosses the attention of the world. The difficulties in the realization of either of these propositions are, however, considerable; as, in the one case, no one Power appears willing that the other should possess Constantinople; while, on the other hand, past experience has shown that reforms in Turkey are impracticable.

Earl Russell's views upon this subject are stated in

the following letter, which his lordship addressed to me on the 8th of September last:—

"Pembroke Lodge, Sept. 8.

"My dear Sir,—Allow me to state what I consider the gist of the Turkish Question. On the 11th Sept., 1860, I wrote a dispatch of strong remonstrance to Sir Henry Bulwer, our ambassador at Constantinople, in answer to certain statements which he had made to me. It appeared from those statements that the Turkish Minister of War received for the uses of the army about six millions sterling a year; that instead of applying those sums to the uses of the army, the army was unpaid, and the revenue was either consumed by the Minister in waste and extravagance, or applied to increase his own private fortune.

"The Turkish soldier is an excellent soldier, brave in battle, patient of hunger and thirst, and ready to march the whole day in spite of fatigue and privation; but while he is a good soldier he is not qualified to perform the offices of a Minister in a court of justice, to unravel the intricacies of a long process of law, and to pronounce an equitable judgment. The consequence of the employment of Turkish soldiers in these capacities was that my representations of September 11, 1860, have been to this day unheeded. Omar Pasha made many fair promises, but those promises remain unfulfilled.

"I am aware that some persons are of opinion that

to have obtained promises is quite as much as we were entitled to, and that to expect the Turkish Government to perform their promises and to do justice is a preposterous notion. Men who would be furious if the sums voted by the House of Commons were not applied according to the Appropriation Act, hear calmly that the moneys raised by an oppressive system of taxation are applied in Turkey to purposes of corruption and waste.

"If, as Solomon says, there is a time for everything, it might be well, in 1860, to obtain promises and, in 1875, to insist upon their performance. At all events, I cannot think that we are bound to employ our army and navy in what is stated to be 'our traditional policy.' Lord Palmerston was as indignant as I was at the apathy of the Sultan's Government, and exclaimed that we could not be expected to go to war for a dead body. We may wisely and honourably refuse to give further subsidies for the support of the Turkish Government. We obtained promises, through Omar Pasha and others, that justice should be done to the subjects of the Sultan. It is surely no undue impatience to ask, fifteen years afterwards, whether those promises have been performed. Supposing, however, that Great Britain withdraws from the scene, it is fair to inquire in what manner justice can be obtained in the Turkish dominions. It is hopeless to expect that the Turkish rulers can afford any security for the performance of the duties of good government,

and it may well be a question whether Austria, Russia, and the other Powers of Europe, will, if asked to do so, undertake the task of internal government in the provinces of Turkey. If they decline, there remains but one resource to obtain for the people of Croatia and the Herzegovina, as Lord Derby formerly obtained for the people of Servia, something of the nature of independent government.

"I should myself wish to see Thessaly and Albania made provinces of the kingdom of Greece.

"You will now see what a vast problem lies before us. A good many years ago, the Emperor Nicholas of Russia stated to Prince Metternich that he no longer wished to obtain Constantinople for himself; that he was quite ready to see it placed under the Emperor of Austria, as a Sovereign in whom he could confide.

"That, however, is not now the question. I must continue to desire that the cause of civil and religious liberty may prosper all over the world, but it is for the people of Bosnia and the Herzegovina to consider what is attainable, and by what means good government can be secured. For this purpose the wishes of the people themselves must be consulted by the other Powers. I am glad that the three northern Powers should have wished to unite Great Britain, France, and Italy to the body to be consulted. If these combined Powers are able to devise a plan of just and equal government which shall be willingly accepted

by the subjects of the Sultan, and at the same time maintain the peace of Europe, I shall heartily rejoice at so propitious a result.

"I remain, your faithful servant,

"RUSSELL.

I do not, however, believe that any permanent solution of the Eastern Question is possible unless upon the basis of the complete independence of the Christians. The rule of the Turks in Europe is doomed to fall, and it would have fallen ere this if the Great Powers could have agreed upon an alternative. England has not really any object in now supporting the present *régime*, for as long as our right of way through Egypt is guaranteed, and our special interests protected, we have no need to be alarmed at the dismemberment of Turkey.* We ought, therefore, to look the facts resolutely in the face, and not, by futile efforts, seek to

* The following prophecy is said to have been made in 1453, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks:—

"In twice two hundred years the Bear
The Crescent shall assail;
But if the Cock and Bull unite,
The Bear shall not prevail.

"But look! in twice ten years again,
Let Islam know and fear,
The Cross shall rise—the Crescent wane,
Grow pale and disappear."

It will be "twice ten years" next spring from the conclusion of the Crimean War.

postpone that which is inevitable, and which we could not prevent, even if we desired. In the interest of the Turks themselves, this solution is the best one; for, in Europe, they will never be other than an "encampment in a foreign land," while in Asia, they might become not only useful to themselves but also to their friends.

Every one admits that it will be no harm for the world when the Turks quit Constantinople, but that it will be "a good thing for Turkey," is not, I am aware, so apparent to those who have not closely studied the question. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, it is an undoubted fact; and the day on which the Crescent is removed from the minarets of Saint Sophia, will mark the date of the regeneration of Turkey. Eighteen years' personal knowledge of Turkey and the Turks have led me to this conclusion. While Fuad and A'ali lived, there was hope that the integrity of the empire might be maintained; now, there is none.

The Sultan is an absentee from his native country. In Asia he possesses an estate, perhaps the finest in the world; but, like other absentees, he has neglected it, and lived riotously and extravagantly in a foreign land. The facility with which he obtained money has been his ruin, for it has led him deeper into extravagance and fine living. He has been, and is, in fact, altogether in a false position. He was once a great personage, and called himself "the King of Kings of the world, the Prince of Emperors of every age, the

Dispenser of Crowns to Monarchs;" but, unfortunately, while he has been getting poorer every day, his neighbours in Europe have been getting richer, and those who formerly were his inferiors, now look down upon and despise him.

In Asia, on the contrary, the Sultan would be at home on his ancestral soil, amidst his own people, and his own co-religionists; while the native element in Asia Minor and Syria that would necessarily find a place in his Government, would give the latter solidity and strength. He would possess a domain consisting of six hundred and seventy-three thousand seven hundred and fifty-six square miles of the finest land in the universe, and, instead of being an abject dependent, as at present, he might become the most powerful prince in the East, and the richest monarch in the world. From all antiquity, this land has been famed for its richness and fertility, yet, for centuries, it has been lying untouched and fallow. It possesses harbours on three seas, and mighty rivers, which, when cleared from the snags and sandbanks that now render them useless for transport, would float down such wealth of produce to the coasts as would enrich the population, the Government, and all concerned in the development of the country's splendid resources. Turkey in Asia is capable of supplying Europe to an almost indefinite extent, not only with those ordinary raw materials which form everywhere the great staples of food and manufacture, but also those rarer articles of merchan-

dise which can only be abundantly and profitably produced under conditions of special advantages as regards climate and geographical position. It has been calculated that if only one-half of the surface of Mesopotamia alone were put under cultivation, it would yield grain equal to the whole of France, and become a cotton-field rivalling India itself. The entire stretch of country between the Syrian coast and the Euphrates is capable of cotton production to an extent hardly conceivable, except to those who are acquainted with the topography of the district. The uncultivated area of Asia Minor, too, is surprisingly large; and when the time shall come in which even a moderate per centage of her soil shall be brought under produce, Turkey in Asia will hold an enviable position in the hierarchy of nations. There is probably no country in the world possessing the raw material of national greatness in such abundance as the Ottoman possessions in Asia. Fuel and iron she has in common with every industrial centre of the West. She possesses also the facilities of producing the various substances to be woven into the cloths of commerce, and, forming the connecting link between two continents, with ports both in Eastern and Western waters, her natural advantages are overwhelmingly great. Mines of coal, copper, lead, and silver abound, forming so many reserves of mineral treasure, nothing being wanted but steam, skill, and capital to make their hidden wealth available. Nevertheless, with all its

natural advantages, this splendid country is probably the most wretched and the most impoverished in the world.

The reason is obvious; the owner is an absentee! The remedy is equally apparent; let the prodigal return. At the present moment, he is wasting his patrimony amongst strangers who love him not, and MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN is written on the wall. Let him then return before it is too late. The lessons he has learned in a foreign land will be useful to him, for they will have taught him to throw down for ever the wall of exclusiveness which has been so sedulously raised; to invite the enterprise and capital of other nations to settle on the soil, and develop its products; to inaugurate a policy of freedom for industrial pursuits, and make the law, from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, effective for the protection of the stranger that is within his gates. Then would revive the ancient grandeur of the Khalifs. The traffic between India and Europe, so long carried on round the Cape of Good Hope, would return to its former and more direct course. The Tigris and the Euphrates would again water cities equal to the Nineveh and Babylon that once stood upon their banks. A new Tadmor would rival the glories of Palmyra. The Orontes would carry treasures to a restored Antioch, the "Star of the East." Smyrna would once more become the "Gem of Asia;" the maritime cities of Syria would recall the splendours of Sidon and of

Tyre; and the Osmanli might, in time, become—what they will never be in Europe—a great and useful power.

In Asiatic Turkey, the numerical superiority of the Mussulmans to the Christians is in an inverse ratio to their inferiority in Europe. In Asia, the Mussulmans number about 13,000,000, whereas the Christians do not reckon more than 3,500,000! Asia, therefore, is the natural home of the Turk, and it is a remarkable fact that as the Turks have become weaker in Europe, they have become more and more intolerant. In the days of Ottoman greatness, Greek sailors manned its fleet, and the soldiery was augmented by absorption of the native populations, which gained its victories. The brightest page of Turkish history is that of Soleyman the Magnificent, and his reign was celebrated for the justice of its laws. Some of the most renowned Grand Viziers were Christian renegades, and Safiyé, wife of Amurath, was the daughter of a noble Venetian house, the Baffos. Safiyé reigned in Turkey at the same time as Catherine de Médicis in France, and Elizabeth in England. She governed the two reigns of Amurath III. and of Mahommed III., as Roxelana did those of Soleyman II. and of his son Bajazet. Soleyman I. married Theodora, mother of the Greek Emperor, and left at the Byzantine Court his own sister, the Sultana Fatima, daughter of Bajazet. Amurath II. had three Christian wives,—the Princess of Sinope, the Princess Mara, daughter of Brankovich,

and the Princess Helena of Servia, who was the mother of Mahommed II. All this, however, was, as I have said, in the days when Turkey was a great, a conquering, and, at times, a magnanimous Power; but as their strength has waned, the Turks have become as fanatic and intolerant as in the days of Abou-Bekr and the immediate successors of the Prophet. If, therefore, we would wish to see revived the splendour of Haroun the Just, and the grandeur of Soleyman, surnamed El-Kanouni, or the law-giver, we should help the Turks in regaining what they have lost, and that can only be attained by their return to Asia, the cradle of their race. It is the interest of England to pursue this policy. At present, our road to India lies through Egypt; but, if Turkey, freed from its impoverishment and its entanglements in Europe, should become a solid and compact Power in Asia, we would have a much shorter road by the Persian Gulf, and the dream, so long and persistently indulged in, of an Euphrates Valley route, would then be an accomplished fact. There is, besides, no country in the world which offers so wide and profitable a field for British capital and industry as the possessions of the Turks in Asia. Good roads and inexpensive railways would be required to improve the communications between existing business centres, and open up vast tracts of country which have, at present, no outlet for their products. The obstacles to the navigation of many rivers demand removal, so as to facilitate the

transit of produce from the interior. Wharves require to be built to save costly transhipment of merchandise; tracts of country to be drained in order to bring them into proper condition for the growth of cotton. Towns would have to be lighted and cleansed; agriculture and manufactures encouraged, and the immense mineral wealth to be developed. Here then is a vast field for British engineering skill and capital; and which we may command as soon as that field is open to our enterprise. There is, besides, no other country in the world which, if Turkey in Asia become what I should desire it to be, would offer a more eligible home for the immigrant; for those, in fact, who are daily seeking in distant lands the comforts and independence denied them in their own. Vast tracts of land in Asia Minor and Syria are at present waste and fallow; the climate is delightful, the soil is luxuriantly fertile, and capable of producing in abundance everything necessary for the wants of man. It depends upon ourselves whether this splendid country shall still remain a desert, or whether it shall be thrown open to English enterprise that will not only enrich those whose labour and capital are expended, but also contribute to the regeneration of Turkey itself.

The question, however, still remains: "What is to be done with the possessions of the Turks in Europe?" But the answer is not difficult, and the time is opportune for its solution. Greece ought to be made a kingdom in reality as well as in name, and should

obtain Thessaly, Epirus, Southern Albania, and the Islands, with the exception of Crete, which, with a view of protecting our rights in the Suez Canal, ought to be ceded to England.* Turkish Croatia, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Northern Albania, should be erected into a principality, under an Austrian prince; and Bulgaria and Macedonia should be treated in a similar manner; Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro, should also be declared independent. All these should become a confederation of Christian States, with Constantinople as their head. But then comes the critical question—"Who is to obtain the city of Bysantium?" We cannot fight against destiny, and it is the destiny of Russia to possess Constantinople. Fuad Pasha foresaw this eventuality; for, in his letter to the Sultan, from his death-bed at Nice, he said: "If I had been myself a Russian Minister, I would have overturned the world to have conquered Constantinople!" In the face of this opinion of the greatest of Turkish statesmen, why should we seek to delay that which is inevitable? *The Times*, in a recent leading article, said that England did not now

* While these pages have been passing through the Press, our Government, by a brilliant stroke of policy which is appreciated by the whole country, has secured our right of way to India, and efficiently protected our interests in the East by the purchase of the Khédive's shares in the Suez Canal. Henceforward our interests will be centered in the development and prosperity of Egypt, and the future of Turkey in Europe will be comparatively of little consequence to us. (See Appendix V., "Suez Canal.")

object to the possession of Constantinople by Russia, but that Austria would not permit it. I do not know what the policy of Austria may be on this subject; but if it is as *The Times* says, then let Constantinople be made a free city, under the protectorate of the Great Powers; or, better still, let Constantinople, with Bulgaria and Macedonia, be erected into a kingdom, under the rule of an English prince and Russian princess, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, as King and Queen of Byzantium. Some such solution of the Eastern Question is the only one practicable, and, sooner or later, it must be adopted.

The solution I have indicated is, moreover, the only one that will give Turkish bondholders the slightest chance of obtaining their money; for, while the Turks remain in Europe, the bondholders will remain unpaid. Greece, in consideration of the newly-acquired provinces, would take upon herself a fair share of the public debt; so, also, would Bosnia and Herzegovina; so, also, would Bulgaria and Macedonia; and so, likewise, would Constantinople, which, becoming the great emporium of trade between the East and the West, would soon rival in wealth and splendour the ancient city of Zenobia. The tribute at present paid by Servia and Roumania might be capitalized, and thus Turkey herself would not be overweighted with the balance remaining of her public debt. As to the floating debt, I think the Armenian and Greek Saraffs,

considering their enormous gains, and the fabulous fortunes made by them out of the Turkish Government, might very justly place the amount to the debit of their profit and loss accounts.

If, however, it be the present policy of the Great Powers to keep the Turks in Europe, then the only other solution possible will be to insist upon such reforms as shall create a social, political, and administrative order of things suited to the respective wants of the Christians and Mussulmans, so that their coexistence may be organized on an equal footing, without any sacrifice on the one hand or the other, and their safety and development assured under the common authority of the Sultan.

Before discussing, however, the reforms which might produce such a desirable result, it may be well to go back a little, and see what success has attended similar attempts in the past.

Selim III. was the first reforming Sultan. Although secluded before his accession to the throne, according to the custom which has prevailed for several centuries in Turkey, from any intercourse with the outer world, and confined to the society of a jealously-guarded *entourage*, he had contrived to surreptitiously obtain a good deal of information respecting the state of his own country, and the relation in which it stood to the Powers of the West. Possessed of considerable natura ability, he was not slow to appreciate the superiorit y of such a system of government as the French over

that of the Ottoman; and the effect of his correspondence with Louis XVI., prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution, was amply evidenced by his subsequent determined attempts at the reform of effete and vicious institutions. His reforms in the army, however, were opposed by the Janissaries; in the laws, by the clergy; in the administration of public affairs, by the vested interests of the governing classes; and resulted in the massacre of his Ministers, and in his own assassination.

The death of Selim placed Mahmoud II., the father of the present Sultan, on the throne, and his first acts were to appoint Mustapha Bairaktar Grand Vizier, and to proclaim the re-institution of those measures which his uncle had inaugurated. In a few months, however, Mustapha Bairaktar was barbarously murdered, and Mahmoud himself would have shared the same fate, if he had not secured his own safety by the assassination of his brother, and thus made himself the sole living representative of the House of Othman. By this means, Mahmoud attained an unassailable position, and was able to fearlessly carry out those reforms in the army which had been commenced by Selim. It was not, however, until the massacre and extermination of the Janissaries, on the 15th of June, 1826, that he felt his power complete, and he then exclaimed: "Henceforth I shall recognize the Moslem only in his mosque, the Christian in his church, and the Jew in his synagogue;" but the precepts of the

Koran are held more sacred by the Mussulmans than a Hatt-y-Humayoum, or Imperial rescript, and the benevolent intentions of that far-sighted monarch have never been fulfilled. Mahmoud was always called by his people the Ghiaour-Padishah, or infidel Sultan, and when, one day, surrounded by his guards, he was passing over the bridge of Galata, he was rudely brought to know the sentiments of his Mussulman subjects. A dervish, named Cheikh Satchli, seized the bridle of his horse, and cried out, in tones of anger, "Ghiaour-Padishah, art thou not yet satiated with abominations? Thou wilt have to answer before Allah for thy impiety. Thou art destroying the institutions of thy brothers, ruining Islamism, and drawing down the vengeance of the Prophet upon thyself and us!" While Mahmoud stood amazed at this violent address, the officers who surrounded him said the man was mad. "Mad!" replied the dervish, with indignation. "No, no; I am not mad! it is the Ghiaour-Padishah and his vile Ministers who have lost their reason. The Spirit of God, which animates me, and which I am bound to obey, has commanded me to speak the truth, and has promised me the crown of the martyrs." Scarcely had the dervish pronounced these words when he was seized and put to death; but the next day it was reported in the city that a bright glory had, during the night, surrounded with the aureola of the saints the dead body of the holy martyr. Shortly after this scene, a considerable

portion of Pera was set on fire, ten thousand houses became a prey to the flames, and numerous Christian families were completely ruined. To the lamentations of the victims the Mussulmans replied: "God is great! Behold what the Prophet has done to teach the renegade Sultan to obey his precepts, and not to contaminate the seat of his Empire by allying himself with infidels!"

Abdul Medjid followed in the reforming steps of his father, and he had an able minister in Reschid Pasha, and a powerful adviser in Lord Stratford. When Abdul Medjid ascended the throne, the Ottoman Empire was in a state of ferment. The determined efforts of Selim and Mahmoud to reform abuses in the administration of affairs, and ameliorate the condition of the agricultural population, had at length been productive of some effect. The reforming party in the State were increasing, whilst the old Turkish party, who hated change as heartily as they loathed the infidel, could not then boast of much accession to their ranks. With the reins of power in the hands of a less patriotic monarch, the labours, in the cause of improvement, of the two previous reigns might have been barren of result; but Abdul Medjid, recognizing the necessity for progress, invested Reschid Pasha with authority to resume his labours in the cause of reform, infused new vigour into the rising party in the governing class, and proved that Mahmoud, baffled, and at times defeated in the pursuit of his loftiest

aspirations, had found a worthy successor in his son.

There was something, certainly, in those persistent efforts at reform, in those repeated attempts on the part of the ruler to overcome the *vis inertiæ* of the subject, which extorts from us our admiration and respect; for those only who have had practical experience of Asiatic habits can thoroughly appreciate the force of character which must be possessed by the man who resolves to impose modern conditions of thought and action upon a people absolutely indifferent to external change, and clinging with tenacity to the traditions of the past. Reschid Pasha set at once about his task with all the fervour of an enthusiast, and the commencement of the new reign was signalized by one of the most important public acts which ever emanated from the race of Othman—viz., the solemn promulgation of a new constitution for the empire, embodying the most advanced measures of reform of the two previous Sultans. This edict, known as the Hatti-Scheriff of Gülhané—ordinarily spoken of as the Tanzimat—was read, and its strict execution ordained at the Court of Gülhané, on the 3rd November, 1839, with all the pomp and ceremonial observance possible on the occasion. The audience was one of the most illustrious that had ever assembled in the halls of the Sultans, comprising the high functionaries, civil, military, and legal; the dignitaries of the different religious communions and the diplomatic corps.

The orator was Reschid Pasha, and before all stood the youthful Sultan, sanctioning by his presence, and prepared to ratify by act, the writing which his minister was reading as the emanation of his Imperial will. The fundamental changes which this ordinance was intended to introduce into the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire are of so startling a character, that its perusal *in extenso* is necessary in order that its provisions may be properly understood. The text is as follows :—

HATTI-SCHERIFF OF GULHANÉ.

"It is well known that during the early ages of the Ottoman Monarchy, the glorious precepts of the Koran, and the laws of the Empire, were ever held in honour. In consequence of this, the Empire increased in strength and greatness; and all the population, without exception, acquired a high degree of welfare and prosperity.

"For one hundred and fifty years a succession of incidents and various causes have checked this obedience to the sacred code of the law, and to the regulations which emanate from it; and the previous internal strength and prosperity have been converted into weakness and poverty, for in truth an empire loses all its stability when it ceases to observe its laws.

"These considerations have been ever present to our mind, and since the day of our accession to the throne, the thought of the public good, of the amelioration of the condition of the provinces, and the

alleviation of the national burdens, has not ceased to claim our entire attention. If we take into consideration the geographical position of the Ottoman provinces, the fertility of the soil, and the aptness and intelligence of the inhabitants, we shall attain the conviction that by applying ourselves to discover efficacious methods, the result which, with the aid of God, we hope to obtain, will be realized within a few years.

"Thus, then, full of confidence in the help of the Most High, supported by the intercession of our Prophet, we consider it advisable to attempt by new institutions to obtain for the provinces composing the Ottoman Empire the benefits of a good administration.

"These institutions will principally refer to the following topics:—

"1. The guarantees which will ensure our subjects perfect security for their lives, their honour, and their property.

"2. A regular method of establishing and collecting the taxes.

"3. An equally regular method of recruiting, levying the army, and fixing duration of the service.

"In truth, are not life and honour the most precious blessings in existence? What man, whatever may be his detestation of violence, could refrain from having recourse to it, and thereby injuring the Government and his country, if his life and honour are

exposed to danger? If, on the contrary, he enjoys perfect security in this respect, he will not forget his loyalty, and all his acts will conduce to the welfare of the Government and his fellow-subjects.

"If there is no security for their fortune, all listen coldly to the voice of their prince and country; none attend to the progress of the common weal, absorbed as they are in their own troubles. If, on the other hand, the citizen possesses in confidence his property, of whatever kind it may be, then, full of ardour for his own affairs, the sphere of which he strives to extend, in order to increase that of his own enjoyments, he daily feels the love for his prince and his country growing more fervent in his heart. These sentiments become within him the source of the most laudable actions.

"It is of the highest importance to regulate the imposition of the taxes; as the State, which, in the defence of its territory, is forced into various expenses, cannot procure the money necessary for the army and other branches of the service, save by contributions levied on its subjects.

"Although, thanks to God, our subjects have been for some time delivered from the scourge of monopolies, falsely regarded hitherto as a source of revenue, a fatal practice still exists, although it can only have the most disastrous consequences; it is that of the venal concessions known by the name of Iltizim.

"Under this system, the civil and financial adminis-

tration of the province is entrusted to the arbitrary will of an individual; that is, at times, to the iron hand of the most violent and covetous passions; for, if the administrator is not good, he cares for nothing but his own advantage.

"It is therefore necessary that, in future, each member of the Ottoman society should be taxed in a ratio to his fortune and his ability, and that nothing further shall be demanded from him.

"It is also necessary that special laws should fix and limit the expenses of our forces on land and sea.

"Although, as we have said, the defence of the country is a paramount consideration, and it is the duty of all the inhabitants to furnish soldiers for this end, it is necessary to establish laws to regulate the contingent which each district should furnish according to the requirements of the moment, and to reduce the time of active military service to four or five years. For it is both committing an injustice and inflicting a deadly blow on the agriculture and industry of the country, to take, without regard to the respective populations of the districts, more from one and less from another, than they are able to furnish; at the same time it is reducing the soldiers to despair, and contributing to the depopulation of the country, to retain them during their whole life in the service.

"In fine, without the various laws, the necessity of which has been recognized, the Empire can neither possess strength, nor wealth, nor prosperity, nor

tranquillity; on the contrary, it may hope for them all from the existence of these new laws.

"For this reason, in future, the cause of every accused party will be tried publicly, in conformity with our divine law; and until a regular sentence has been pronounced, no one can put another to death, secretly or publicly, by poison, or any other form of punishment.

"No one will be permitted to assail the honour of any one, whosoever he may be.

"Every person will enjoy the possession of his property of every nature, and dispose of it with the most perfect liberty, without any one being able to impede him; thus, for example, the innocent heirs of a criminal will not be deprived of their legal rights, and the property of the criminal will not be confiscated.

"These imperial concessions extend to all our subjects, whatever religion or sect they may belong to, and they will enjoy them without any exception.

"Perfect security is, therefore, granted by us to the inhabitants of the Empire, with regard to their life, their honour, and their fortune, as the sacred text of our law demands.

"With reference to the other points, as they must be regulated by the concurrence of enlightened opinions, our Council of Justice (augmented by as many new members as may be deemed necessary), to whom will be adjoined, on certain days, which we shall appoint, our ministers and the notables of the

Empire, will meet for the purpose of establishing the fundamental laws on those points relating to the security of life and property, and the imposition of the taxes. Every one in these assemblies will state his ideas freely, and give his opinion.

"The laws relating to the regulations of the military service will be discussed by the Military Council, holding its meetings at the palace of the Seraskier. As soon as a law is decided upon, it will be presented to us, and in order that it may be eternally valid and applicable, we will confirm it by our sanction, written above it with our Imperial hand.

"As these present institutions are solely intended for the regeneration of religion, government, the nation, and the Empire, we engage to do nothing which may be opposed to them.

"As a pledge for our promise, we intend, after having deposited this edict in the hall which contains the glorious relics of the Prophet, in the presence of all the Ulema and Grandees of the Empire, to take an oath in the name of the Almighty, and cause the Ulema and Grandees also to swear to that effect.

"After that, any one of the Ulema or Grandees, or any other person whatsoever, who violates these institutions, will undergo, without regard to rank, consideration, or credit, the punishment appointed for his guilt when proven. A penal code will be drawn up to this effect.

"As all the functionaries of the Empire will receive

from this day a suitable salary, and those whose functions are not at present sufficiently rewarded will be advanced, a rigorous law will be passed against the traffic in favours and appointments, which the divine laws reprove, and which is one of the principal causes of the decay of the Empire.

"The enactments thus made being a complete renovation and alteration in ancient usages, this Imperial rescript will be published at Constantinople and in all the towns of our Empire, and will be officially communicated to all the ambassadors of friendly Powers residing in Constantinople, in order that they may be witnesses of the concession of these institutions, which, with the favour of the Almighty, will endure for ever.

"May the All-powerful God have us all in His holy keeping!

"May those who commit any act contrary to the present institutions be the objects of the divine malediction, and eternally deprived of every kind of happiness!"

It will be observed that from the beginning to the end of this edict there is no acknowledgment of the superiority of Western civilization over that of Islam; the Hatt seeming to aim solely at the eradication of existing abuses. The whole tendency of the ordinance was towards liberal expansion, and the engraftment of modern ideas on the original stock. The Sultan expressly limits his own power as an autocrat, manifestly

desiring to be viewed in the light of a constitutional ruler, who must subordinate his will to the law, and consider the welfare of his people as a trust, for the faithful keeping of which he will be held responsible. It is undoubted that both Abdul-Medjid and his minister were sincere in their desire for reform, but the Hatti-Scheriff of Gülhané remains nevertheless a dead letter to this day. Reschid, notwithstanding the vexatious character of the opposition which his measures received, persisted manfully in their development, and it is universally acknowledged that he exercised the extraordinary powers with which he was invested by his sovereign with a steadfast devotion which did him infinite credit. But it was all of no avail, and he met his death, it is believed, by poison. We all know the efforts made, during fifteen years, by Fuad and A'ali, but we also know how little they were able to effect.*

After the Crimean War, Abdul-Medjid promulgated another decree, the Hatt-y-Humayoum of 1856,† in which the principles of reform embodied in the Tanzimat were renewed and extended, but that also to this day remains null and void, and without the slightest effect. "Les impôts et les contributions de toute nature," says M. Alexandre Bonneau,‡ "ruinèrent, comme par le passé, les raïas; le système des

* See Appendix III. Fuad Pasha's Political Testament.

† See Appendix II. The Hatt-y-Humayoum of 1856.

‡ "Les Turcs et la Civilisation," par Alexandre Bonneau.

fermages ne fut pas aboli, et il dure encore ; les pachas et les kaïmacams, les deterdars et les cadis, les beys et les agas continuèrent de pratiquer sur la plus large échelle les concussions, les exactions, le viol et le rapt. Nous pourrions citer des exemples par milliers ; nous pourrions citer des fortunes aussi colossales que scandaleuses, acquises en quelques années aux dépens des malheureux chrétiens. Il nous suffira de montrer un gouverneur accaparant, sous l'empire du tanzimat, les plus belles propriétés de la plus belle île de la Méditerranée, et se créant pour ses vieux jours une fortune princière de six millions de francs de revenu ! Ses administrés poussèrent les hauts cris ; la Porte dut intervenir, et le gouverneur destitué fut rappelé à Constantinople ; mais, aux yeux des Turcs, faire rendre gorge aux chrétiens n'est pas un crime ; c'est le droit, au contraire, droit légitime des musulmans ; car dépouiller les infidèles, mis hors de la loi par le Coran, c'est étendre et consolider la vraie foi. Le pacha concussionnaire fut donc promu, peu de temps après son apparente disgrâce, à la dignité de président du conseil suprême et ensuite à celle de grand vizir. Des choses non moins caractéristiques se passèrent en Bulgarie. La réforme serait-elle une illusion de cœurs généreux et un tâtonnement vers l'impossible ? C'est aujourd'hui l'opinion de tout le monde."

That the Hatt-y-Humayoum has remained a dead letter is now manifest to the world, and a convincing proof is the revolt of the Christians in Bosnia and the

Herzegovina. The statement of grievances and wrongs which have led to the insurrection was officially laid before the International Consular Commission by direction of the chiefs of the revolt assembled in Council of War at Metkovitch, and is as follows:—

DECLARATION OF THE HERZEGOVINA INSURGENTS.

"Honourable Envoys of Europe,—For the last four centuries the Christians of the Herzegovina, the miserable and pitiable Rayahs, have been plunged in mourning and affliction. Unable to longer support the tyranny, the barbarity, the persecuting rage, the violence, and the systematic oppression of the Turks, the Rayahs have risen this year and have taken to arms in order to prove at last in this nineteenth century—in the age of light and civilization—that it is a shame to all Europe to permit the Turkish barbarians to garotte the unfortunate Slave population of the Herzegovina, and to continue in the present state of ignorance.

"Gentlemen, we have learned that the European Powers have sent you to inquire into our miseries, and to seek out the motives which have led us to an appeal to arms. Well, here we lay before you our real reasons for revolt:

"1. Let us commence with the *Aga*. The unfortunate small cultivator who takes a farm from the hands of the *Aga* is bound to cultivate it, and to give half of its fruits to that official. When the *Aga* comes

to visit the peasant, which happens three or four times every year, he is accompanied by all his followers, and the peasant is obliged to entertain him and his people, and provide for his horses, under pain of being scourged and thrown into prison.

"2. In the Turkish Empire farms are given at a fixed rent, but the owner enters into an agreement with the employers of the State, by which ten times the amount that the law prescribes is exacted. The Rayahs must pay first; it is then permitted to them to complain.

"3. The Rayahs are bound, besides other taxes, to pay the *harac*, or personal contribution; the *pesule*, or property tax; and the *askarie* or military impost.

"4. The census of cattle has been made from time immemorial in the most iniquitous manner. The census enumerators are all Turks. They let free their own co-religionists, but with the poor Christians they count thirty head of cattle where there are only ten, and thus we are obliged to contribute the whole impost to the *Aga*. To whom can the Christians complain? To the *Vali*. Who is their judge? The *Vali*.

"5. If a Christian is proceeded against by a Turk, or if he appeal for justice against a Turk, he invariably is defeated, unless he have two Turkish witnesses, and when he does not gain he is thrown into prison.

"6. The Turks employ violence to carry away our wives and our daughters, and then force them to adopt the creed of Islam.

"7. If a Christian have the misfortune to bear witness against a Turk, he can only expect to live three days.

"8. The Turk abhors our priests, our churches, the bells of our sanctuaries, and he publicly insults and defiles them.

"9. We pay a tribute to the Sultan, and we pay different heavy expenses, but in return we get no means of education. We have no schools, and if any one demands them he is immediately thrown into prison, and pays with his head for his audacity.

"10. If there are repairs to be executed on the roads of the Sultan, the Rayah is compelled to leave his home, and, after travelling five or six days, to work often eight days without food and without payment. The Turks, on the contrary, are free from this.

"11. If there is a scarcity of horses to carry the provisions of the Turkish troops the *zapties* (Turkish policemen) quickly arrive in our villages; they first billet themselves on the peasants, and after a few days they carry away both men and horses, often to a distance of fifteen or twenty days' march, without giving either food or payment.

"12. How can we obtain real justice from the Turkish Tribunal when it is composed of a certain number of savage Turks, and of only two Christians, who are often forced into signing the death-warrant of the most honest of their co-religionists.

"13. If a poor Christian is requisitioned to repair

or construct a road, and to bring his horses, and he excuses himself from going far away from his home by saying that his farming operations will not allow him, or that his wife or child is sick, the *zaptie* soon arrives, beats him, and leaves him half dead, and sometimes scourges him until death ensues.

"14. If a Turk complains before a tribunal the judgment is quickly rendered. If a Christian make a complaint he may await judgment until the end of the world, unless he bribes the judge with ten times the amount of the object in litigation.

"15. There is no security under the Turkish Government.

"16. If the *Aga* comes to see us he has nothing better to do than blaspheme against the Cross, the saints, the altar, &c.

"17. When a Turk gives himself up to violence he knows no bounds. Ismael Aga Schariez, who is a member of the tribunal of Stolatz, one day forced an unfortunate peasant to drain and reclaim at his own cost the Lake of Kuzat. He makes the Rayahs work on the public ways, and pretends that he pays them; but he never gives them anything. His is not a solitary case. All the Turkish officials act in the same manner.

"18. There is no integrity in the Government of the Turks, for the *employés* have only a small salary, and then poverty compels them to commit all sorts of violent and illegal acts.

"19. The Turks cannot have greater facilities for acting in an illegal manner towards the Rayahs. Legal proceedings are all conducted in the Turkish language, which the Rayahs do not understand, and the Turks accordingly do what they like.

"20. Here is an instance. The peasants reclaimed the marsh at Varda Glavica, but the whole land—one thousand acres—was taken from them by Turks. (The names of a number of Turks are here given as participators in the act.)

"Gentlemen,—Up to this day Europe has accomplished many revolutions. She has precipitated from their thrones many kings, princes, and emperors, animated by noble and Christian sentiments. And yet up to the present time of civilization you hold this barbarian Turk in high esteem. We neither can nor will live longer under the Turkish lash. We are men, not beasts. If you cannot afford us relief, neither can you force us to continue in slavery. Henceforth, we refuse to believe in Turkish promises; and as to the intervention which you offer in our behalf, we can only reply that a Turkish promise is not worth a peascod. What we want is liberty—real, full, and entire liberty. We will never return alive to Turkish tyranny."

Can any one after this believe in promises of reform made by the Turkish Government? Promises in plenty they will make, but they will never be fulfilled. The Christians are worse off now than they were

twenty years ago, for, before the Crimean War, the foreign consuls protected them, whereas, since the Peace of Paris, the Rayahs have been left altogether to the uncontrolled barbarity and tyranny of the Turk, as all the beneficial results that might have been obtained from the Hatt-y-Humayoum were completely nullified by the ninth clause of the Treaty of March 30, 1856. "This," says the special correspondent of *The Times*, in one of those letters which do him so much credit, "is what diplomacy has brought to its professed *protégés*. What experience of ours can tell the misery wrought in that population, whose wretched fragments the flood of war casts on all the neighbouring frontiers; the demoralization, massacre, death by cold and hunger, which one autumn has brought, or one winter will bring. I wish I could bring the sapient statesmen who control these things to see what I have seen—the weary, aching feet toiling unshod along these rocky roads under the burden of the wreck of what was always poverty; women weak with hunger carrying their children, weaker still, nurslings whose pinched and miserable faces, telling how the fountains of maternity had dried up, would have touched any heart but that of a diplomat; the frantic gratitude with which they covered with kisses the hand that gave even the merest trifle to their great need. M. Wesselitsky, the delegate of the committee for providing for the families of Herzegovina, a most humane, devoted man, and whose personal sacrifices

in this duty are not small, told me that along the frontier at Metkovich he found people who were living in the open air, sleeping on the bare rocks, happy even to find a crevice to protect them from the wind, who had had no bread for days, many of whom were in a state bordering on idiotcy from hunger and panic, and who, when they were told that help had come, could hardly be induced to believe it, or brought to understand it, but were like people gone mad with good news. Noble work of that diplomacy which extorted the Hatt-y-Humayoum, and which continues to watch ever the fortunes of the Turkish Empire with such fidelity that no Rayah in all its extent is safe from the robbery and violence of its administrators, and that no Christian has the slightest chance of justice in a Mussulman Court! Noble fruit of all its strenuous efforts to maintain the peace of Europe, these deserted fields and this perishing people, these ever-recurring efforts of the Rayah to lift himself from a slavery which he can only submit to by accepting the degradation of a beast—efforts ever stifled in blood, and after each of which diplomacy, seeing the ashes quiet and the grave undisturbed, folds its hands, shuts its eyes, and thanks its God that the peace of Europe is still secure! And when the wind of heaven blows on the ashes, and the seed in the grave begins to sprout, and the hand seeks the yataghan again, diplomacy will again counsel the Rayah to peace, and to trust in the clemency and good intentions of the

Sultan. I only wish here to say one thing, which every man who reads may accept as living truth, that if diplomacy after the Crimean War had done its duty, and provided that every subject of the Sultan should have equal justice and equal law, personal liberty, and undisturbed right to his property, every insurrection since would have been averted."

After the Crimean War the Great Powers were in a position to take such measures as would have ensured the comparative peace and happiness of the Christians. It is true the Sultan issued his Hatt-y-Humayoum; but the ninth article of the Treaty of Paris provided that the Firman "shall not in any case give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire." That clause nullified every article of the Hatt-y-Humayoum, and abandoned Turkey to destruction. Without foreign interference, no reforms in Turkey, either financial or social, are possible, and Earl Russell clearly indicates this view in his letter to me of the 8th of September, when he says: "It is hopeless to expect that the Turkish rulers can afford any security for the performance of the duties of good government, and it may well be a question whether Austria, Russia, and the other Powers of Europe will, if asked to do so, undertake the task of internal government in the provinces of Turkey. If they decline, there remains but one

resource—to obtain for the people of Croatia and the Herzegovina, as Lord Derby formerly obtained for the people of Servia, something of the nature of independent government." If the Turks remain in Europe, this suggestion of Lord Russell must be carried out, and either the Christians must be made independent, or the reforms now decided upon must be put in force under the direct supervision of one or other of the Great Powers.

In the event of the latter course being adopted, it remains to see what is the nature of those reforms which might be likely to give administrative autonomy to the Christian populations, consistently with the maintenance of the authority of the Sultan. The following measures would, to some extent, effect that object:—

1. Geographical Boundaries and Grouping of Populations.—The ancient geographical delimitations of the Ottoman Empire answered to various groups formed by the conquered nationalities. When the Sultans subjugated a people, they attached it to the empire by a bond of vassalage, imposed a tribute, often gave it a Mussulman chief, but preserved its territorial limits and national organization. The recent establishment of *vilayets*, however, made some changes in the old order of things, to which it is important to return by constituting as many provinces as there are principal groups of nationalities united under the

Sultan's sceptre. Thus, the mixed population of Roumelia, with a part of Macedonia, would form one province; Bulgaria, another; Bosnia, the Herzegovina, the northern part of Albania, with the adjacent pashaliks of old Servia, a third; Epirus, the southern parts of Albania, Thessaly, and a part of Macedonia, a fourth; and finally, all the islands, with Scio as the centre, would constitute a fifth insular province.* All these groups, the boundaries of which would be the subject of special survey, are strongly recommended by geographical, ethnological, and religious considerations. Very few modifications would be required to adapt the existing boundary lines.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCES, CANTONS, AND COMMUNES.—The principle of autonomy ought to serve as the fundamental basis of the administrative organization of all the provinces of Turkey in Europe. Every province, as well as every canton and commune, should be administered by native heads, freely elected by the votes of a majority of the population. These chief functionaries should be assisted by a communal council elected from among the inhabitants of the commune without distinction of birth, creed, or nationality. The council should assess and collect the taxes voted by the general councils of the provinces. Its duty would be to provide, through officials appointed by it, for the public

* As I have before said, Crete ought to be ceded to England.

safety, the maintenance of the roads, and of the primary schools and other educational establishments and public charities. It should vote the taxes and local charges. It would dispose of the communal militia, recruited among the inhabitants, and charged with the maintenance of order and security. The Councils of the *Sandjaks*, or districts, should be organized on the same basis, composed of delegates from the communal councils, under the presidency of a State functionary belonging to the predominant nationality of the canton. Delegates from these Sandjak councils should constitute the Council-general of the province under the presidency of the Governor-general, who would be appointed by the Sultan. He would direct the affairs of the province, with the assistance of the Council-general, to the votes of which he should conform, with, however, an appeal, in cases of importance, to the decision of the Porte. The Orthodox and Roman Catholic bishops, as well as the rabbis and muftis, should sit, by right, in the Councils-general, in order to defend the religious interests of their respective creeds.

3. JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION.—The judicial organization of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire should also be based on the elective principle. Every commune should elect a police magistrate belonging to the predominant nationality of the commune, who should have cognizance of police cases and civil

causes between Christians. There should be a court of appeal in several of the cantons—the members of which should be elected by the Sandjak councils—for deciding appeals in civil and criminal cases in which Christians are concerned, and also where the parties are Christians and Mussulmans, if the jurisdiction of the court be voluntarily accepted by the latter. If necessary, there might be a court of appeal for one or two provinces, for mixed causes; that is, between Christians and Mussulmans, there should be in every province a mixed tribunal, on which an equal number of Christians and Mussulmans should sit, and which should be presided over alternately by a Christian and a Mussulman. Every Christian tried by a mixed tribunal should have the right to demand the presence of a foreign consul or consular agent to see that impartial justice is done; but this guarantee, the indispensable necessity for which has been demonstrated by experience, might be discontinued in time, when the principles of justice and law shall have taken root in the country. In cantons and communes, the population of which is principally Mussulman, causes between Christians should be referred to the nearest Christian Court. The jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, presided over by the chiefs of religious communities, should be clearly defined, and should have cognizance only of special cases between parties belonging to the same rite. Commercial tribunals should be maintained in the principal towns of the empire in their present

form, but on the elective principle. The codes of civil and criminal law and procedure should be revised with the assistance of foreign jurists, and published in the Turkish, Greek, Slave, and Armenian languages.

4. MILITARY ORGANIZATION. — The Christian and Israelite subjects of the Sultan should be exempted from military service in consideration of an exonerative tax, the amount of which should be equitably assessed, and which should apply only to persons fit for service, between 18 and 35 years of age. This tax should be levied and collected by the chiefs of the communes. Those Christians and Israelites, however, who wish to enrol themselves in the army should be admitted on the same footing as Mussulmans, and should be free from the exemption tax. All the subjects of the Sultan who are fit for military duty, without distinction of creed or birth, ought to serve in the ranks of the local militia for the preservation of local order. This militia would discharge police duties under the direction of the communal chiefs, and the command of the governor of the province; but in no case should they be called upon to act beyond the limits of their respective cantons.

5. FINANCE.—The total amount of the taxes and contributions of each province should be fixed *en bloc* by the Porte every three years, for which purpose a special committee of delegates should be convened

from the provincial councils, with a consultative vote. Those delegates would be the organs of the wishes and representations of the provinces of which they would be the *Kapou-Kehaïas*, or deputies. In fixing the amount of the taxes and contributions of the different provinces, the Porte should take into consideration the numbers of the population, as well as their agricultural, industrial, and commercial resources, and the taxes should be assessed and collected by the councils of the provinces, cantons, and communes. Every commune should be responsible for the exact payment of the amount of the taxes assigned it. The ecclesiastical dues should be fixed by the provincial councils, assessed and levied by the communes, who would be responsible for them to the chiefs of the religious communities. All other taxes, of whatever kind, should be abolished, excepting the custom-house duties on products, specified in the commercial tariff of the Empire, which should be levied at the frontiers by the custom-house authorities, who should not demand more than the duty itself.

6. PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—In all the communes of the Empire where the majority is Christian or Jewish, freedom of instruction should be subject only to such restrictions as are required for the protection of public morals. The establishment, maintenance, and management of primary and secondary schools should belong to the councils of the communes and Sandjaks; and

the special, or superior schools, supported by the State, should be open to Christians and Israelites as well as to Mussulmans. The Councils-general of the provinces, however, should be allowed to found, at their own expense, purely educational establishments exclusively for scholars belonging to the creed and the nationality which is predominant in the province or canton.

7. General Provisions.—All the subjects of the Sultan, without distinction of creed, origin, or nationality, should be equal in right of the law, and eligible for public office. Foreigners residing in Turkey should enjoy their own jurisdictions, as at present, until the new administrative and judicial institutions have taken root and become assimilated with the manners and usages of the country. When that period shall arrive, the Foreign Powers, on the fact being verified by a European commission *ad hoc*, might relinquish the exceptional rights acquired for their respective subjects by the capitulations and ancient treaties. The chiefs of the Christian religious communities should preserve the privileges and immunities which they have enjoyed *ab antiquo*, but, on the other hand, they should submit themselves to the laws, and leave their differences to be decided by the proper tribunals, without having recourse to foreign interventions or protection. The administration of custom-houses, posts, telegraphs, railways, and high roads should belong to the central

authority, who should, however, confide the same to functionaries chosen indifferently from among all the subjects of the Sultan.

The execution of the foregoing measures could not, however, be left, as I have already said, and, as experience has only too well demonstrated, to the exclusive care of the Turkish Government. If the calamitics and perturbations of the future are to be prevented, serious guarantees must be afforded for the accomplishment of the work which has to be undertaken in the East. Without the intervention and direct supervision of one Great Powers, all attempts at reforms will prove futile, and their promulgation on any other basis would be only a mockery to the Christians themselves, who have been too often and too cruelly deceived to trust to the good intentions of the Mussulman authorities, or place any confidence whatever in the future promises of the Porte.

APPENDIX I.

THE INSURRECTION IN HERZEGOVINA.

REPORT of the Consul of one of the Great Powers in the insurgent district on the history of the insurrection and the causes which immediately led to it :—

"The position of the Christian population in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, its sufferings and miseries, have been repeatedly described in newspapers, pamphlets, and official reports. Although in some of these publications, owing to the personal feelings of the writer, the state of things is represented in too dark colours, it is nevertheless a fact that most of them give only a too true picture of the misery and degradation of the Christian population, owing to the incapacity of the Turkish local authorities, their depravity and corruption. Arbitrary rule exists instead of that of the law, and the advantages which the Slavonic Mahommedans enjoy over their Christian countrymen have reduced the latter to the condition of slaves. Although the majority of the Christian population, owing to its abasement, is scarcely conscious of its degraded position, it feels, nevertheless, in many cases, its deplorable condition, and has twice attempted, without success, to free itself of its tormentors. Although the Turkish Government succeeded externally in restoring peace, hatred remained in the hearts of the population; and the Turkish Government, far from doing anything to diminish it, has been keeping it alive by its incorrigible mal-administration, so that the spirit of revolt has been kept glimmering under the ashes. Based on *data* collected on the spot, I will endeavour to relate how

this glimmering spark of revolt has broken out into a flame which consumes the whole country.

"IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE REVOLT.

"There were no foreign influences which caused the movement, but cases of unusual mal-administration.

"In the district of Nevesinje the farmers of taxes, the Christian Stanko Perinovo, of Mostar (at present a refugee in Ragusa), and the Mahommedans Forto and Ali Beg Redjipasics, endeavoured to collect the tithes with more than usual rigour and arbitrary power. The year 1874 had been a failure; in spite of this the tax-farmers had, according to their practice, valued the crops higher than the real proceeds, and instead of taking their share immediately after the harvest, they came to do so in January, 1875. The peasants, in order to live, had in the meantime sold a portion of the crops, or refused to comply with the exaggerated demands. This gave rise to all sorts of violence, people were deprived of all they had, and those who had little were beaten and imprisoned. The 'Kuczes' (village chiefs), who complained to the Kaimakam on this proceeding of the tithe-farmers, were insulted and threatened with arrest. To escape from this they fled to Montenegro, where they arrived on the 20th of February.

"At this time the whole armed population of Montenegro was assembled in Cettinje, where a great council was held on the affair of Podgoritza. The refugees from Nevesinje were therefore received as welcome allies; they were maintained at the expense of the Prince, and took part in the deliberations; in which likewise the Voivode of Baniani (the frontier district towards Bilec), and two of his Kuczes took part, at the special wish of the Prince. In Grahovo 2000 rifles, with the necessary ammunition, were deposited.

"In the meantime the tithe-farmers in Nevesinje continued their work, committing all sorts of injustice and violence, in which they were assisted by the Zaptiehs, or native gendarmerie. All complaints to the Kaimakam being in vain, the Christians decided to avoid the Kassaba, or district town, and declined to do any

corvée. This resistance led to counter-measures on the part of the authorities, which intimidated some, but exasperated the great majority to such a point that, refusing to work for their landlords, they went with their cattle to the mountains, and some of them sent over their families and goods to Montenegro.

"This was the state of things in Nevesinje at the end of March. There had been no case as yet of armed resistance, the Christians avoiding as much as possible to meet the Mahommedans. At that time an agitation began to be perceptible in the district of Bilec, above all on the plateau surrounding the town. It was produced by the misrule of the Kaimakam, a Slavonic Mahommedan of Mostar, named Mustaj Bey Lakasic, and by the way in which the Yuzbashi, or captain of the gendarmerie, in Trebinje, treated the population. In the beginning of March the authorities of Bilec and Trebinje received orders to provide 4700 rafters and beams for the repair of the bridge at Drazidol. Naturally, it was the Christians who had to bring them from great distances without receiving any compensation. They had to deliver them to the Yuzbashi of the Zaptiehs who, under pretext of their not being of the right dimensions, rejected many, forcing people to bring others, and beating those who remonstrated. This so much exasperated the people, who had lost so much time with this forced labour, that the chiefs of the clans decided to refuse not only this work, but every other, to keep aloof from the town, and to disobey the summons to appear before the tribunal. Bilec was thus at the end of March more or less in the same state as Nevesinje was.

"The Kaimakams of these districts reported this state of things to the Mutesarif of Mostar, who transferred the Kaimakams of Bilec to Stolatz, and ordered the Yuzbashis (captains) of the gendarmeries of Gaesko, Mostar, Stolatz, and Trebinje to go with their men in the second half of April to Nevesinje to enforce the obedience of the Christians, and, having done so, to do the same in Bilec. The Mutesarif thought this measure sufficient to break the resistance, as on former occasions. While in these two districts the agitation produced by opposition and violence had reached a

considerable degree, the other districts remained quiet and almost indifferent; only in the Catholic districts there were signs of an agitation, which, however, did not touch the people at first, but which was being got up by the clergy against the Government. One after another a number of reports on the miserable condition of Bosnia and the Herzegovina appeared in the Slavonic papers. Full of hatred and fury, they appealed to the rest of the world to put an end to this state of things. These reports came for the most part from Sirokibrieg, near Mostar, and from Stolatz.

"I will not deny that pity for the people's indignation against the barbarism of the Slavonic Mahommedans and against the authorities inspired some of these communications, but there was another motive likewise with many of the writers—namely, the interests of the monks of St. Francis and the maintenance in general of the privileged position of the Catholic religion and clergy. The Franciscan monks had to protect their privileges, which had not yet been confirmed by the present Sultan, and against which some of the local authorities had already attempted some at least partially successful attacks. Besides, both the Franciscan monks and the Catholic clergy on the left bank of the Narenta had felt the necessity of obtaining further privileges for their religion, a portion of the advantages of which would have naturally benefited those who are, in the full sense of the word, the spiritual leaders of the people, their representatives and spokesmen.

"Thus stood things when the journey of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria to Dalmatia was made. The Slavic Mussulmans, conscious of having done everything to alienate the feelings of the Christian population from the Turkish rule, saw in this journey a sort of political and military *reconnaissance* to get information on the country, to see from which side it could be attacked most easily, and what it was worth if it was bought from the Sultan. As this was the common topic in all the bazaars, the Christians, with all their indolence, could not but gradually take up the idea that this was so, and conceive hopes that their deliverance was at

hand. These hopes, the impulse to which came from the Mahommedans themselves, found an expression in the petitions which the Catholic Kuczes and those of the Orthodox creed wanted to present to the Emperor in Klek and Cattaro.

"When the above-mentioned expedition of the gendarmerie to Nevesinje began, on the 26th of April, the Christians retired to the mountains, and the Kuczes fled to Montenegro, so that the Zaptiehs found only old men, of whom some were bound and taken to Mostar. From Nevesinje the Zaptiehs went to Bilec, from whence the two Voivodes, or chieftains, Gligor Miliceode and Vasil Sporzan, with other notables, had fled two days before to Montenegro. The Kaimakam of Bilec had all the Christians summoned, intimating at the same time that those who would not come could follow the example of those who had gone to Montenegro, but that their property would be confiscated. The inhabitants decided neither to obey the summons nor to go to Montenegro, but tolerably armed to await the arrival of the Zaptiehs in their villages, and send a message to the Voivodes Merzim and Sirno Baccvic in Baniani, asking them to help them to resist the attack of the Turks. The Zaptiehs begin now their razzia on the plateau of Bilec; their first act is that a Zaptieh insults at the village of Cruagora, where they were camped, a woman who brings water; he is called to account by a Christian, whom he shoots. The Zaptieh finds everywhere the population in arms, but they begin no hostilities, only oppose their entry into the villages. The Zaptiehs return to Bilec and report to the Kaimakam that they could do nothing unless they used force, to use which they did not think themselves authorized. The Kaimakam reports to the Mutesarif, who orders him to send home the Zaptiehs and to inform the Christians that a Commission would shortly meet in Nevesinje which would regulate the affairs of the Christians.

"Dervish Pasha, the Governor of Bosnia, having heard of the attempt of the people of Nevesinje to present a petition to the Emperor of Austria, had inquired about the motives which had led to this step, and had ordered the Vali Selim Pasha to go with a

number of frontier guards and irregulars to the spot, in order to hear the grievances of the Christians, but put the alternative that they should either remain quiet, as faithful subjects of the Sultan, and return to their homes, or else they should take their goods and chattels and emigrate to Montenegro. Selim Pasha arrived in Nevesinje in the second half of May, and makes this public; but the Christians reply that they would only treat with a direct Envoy of the Sultan. The Slavic Mussulmans try to prevent single families who want to emigrate to Montenegro from leaving, and it is only due to the interference of the troops that blood does not flow already there. The Christians of Nevesinje collect in bands, which in the daytime follow, indeed, their avocations, but at night occupy the roads, so as to defend themselves against a surprise on the part of the Turks. Thus the people of Nevesinje and of the plateau of Bilec were already under arms, with their families and cattle mostly in the mountains; but hostilities had not broken out, the Christians taking an observant and expectant attitude.

"The other districts remained quiet, no preparations were made, and there were no *pourparlers* with a view to common action. Only here and there the events in Nevesinje were the subject of discussion. The Kuczes of Nevesinje and Bilec, who had taken refuge in Montenegro, had in the meantime become very inconvenient to the Prince, so that this latter applies to Dervish Pasha for permission for them to return, which Dervish Pasha grants, promising them full amnesty for the past. Whether Dervish Pasha did not give the necessary orders in this respect, or whether his subordinates did not obey his orders, the fact is that the emigrants on their return were stopped by the Turkish frontier guards and driven back by force; a fight ensued, in which two Christians were killed and four wounded. The refugees, on their return to Cettinje, complain to the Prince and reproach him for having sacrificed them. The Prince replies, 'Go back and act, some one will surely be found to help you;' but he complains at the same time to Dervish Pasha, who replies that it was a misunderstanding, but that now the refugees might return unmolested. The latter return, too, and

those of Bilec are not molested either, except that some days after fire is set to the houses of some of them. Those of Nevesinje, on the contrary, when they come to the bazaar of the town, are reproached with their flight, and one of them, Trigeko Trubicic, insulted and beaten, while the Kucz Gyuro Simovic, who protests against this in the Medjlis, is cut down when he comes out. The innkeeper, Tuvela, who had lodged those returned, is cruelly murdered; Hia Baniza is attacked in his field, his head cut off, and brought to the official building, with the remark that there was one less of those who would never obey the Turks. All these acts of violence were committed by the Slavic Mussulmans without the authorities showing the least intention to proceed against the guilty.

"All these things produce naturally great agitation among the Christians, who now determine to seek their right, arms in hand, and, acting on this, attack and cut down likewise single Turks. The Kaimakam reports this to the Mutesarif, who decides upon coming in person to Nevesinje to pacify the Christians. The Porte had information of the disturbances, but thought to put an end to them by removing from Mostar two persons against whom the Christians seemed above all embittered. These were the Mufti of Mostar, the chief of the Slavic Mussulmans, an intriguer who knew how to foil every endeavour of the Government to make reforms; the other was the Vladika of Mostar, Procopius, whose Turcophile tendencies had produced bitter hatred against him among all his co-religionists. The first was called up to Constantinople to justify himself, the other was transferred to Seves. These measures produced no effect, because it was taken for granted that the Mufti would easily whitewash himself, while the Vladika only received a better post.

"While in Nevesinje, the Slavic Mussulmans by their acts of violence forced the Christians to defend themselves, arms in hand. The Kuczes, of Bilec, who apprehended similar treatment, fled to Banjani and Ljubomir, to ask these clans to rise and defend themselves against the vengeance of the Turks; but these clans declared that they dared not and could not do anything for the present, but

that at the first blood they would not remain idle. The Kuczes, or sub-chieftains of Nevesinje, sent likewise messages to the clans of Gacsko, Stolacz, and Trebinje, to ask the Christians to support them, intimating at the same time that they would stand alone, but that some one would help them, without any one being named, the Christians persuading themselves that Montenegro and Austria would be the helpers in need; and this supposition became firm conviction without there being the least ground to suppose this—at least, as regards the latter Power. In all these districts the Christians began now to hold secret meetings, in which it was decided to avoid all that could rouse the suspicion of the Turks, but to arm and wait what those of Nevesinje would do. If these latter rose unanimously, then their example should be followed. The quietest of all was the district of Trebinje, only in Boda and Ravna there were traces of warlike tendencies, while everywhere else people followed as usual their avocations. About this time, in the middle of June, there were already bands of armed Christians, but they confined themselves to observe the roads, so that the Turks no more dared to ride alone along them.

"In the middle of June the Mutesarif of Mostar and the Lova, with two companies, arrived in Nevesinje, but the discontented declared again that they would only treat with the Envoys of the Sultan, and the efforts of Mustapha Pasha to restore order remained fruitless. He reported this to the Vali, who ordered Hassan Pasha and Catlan Effendi, who were on the road to Cettinje in the affair of the frontier regulation, to go to Nevesinje, sending with them a certain Petraci of Serajevo as a man having the confidence of the Christians. As the people of Nevesinje asked that an Envoy of the Prince of Montenegro should likewise, as a man having their confidence, take part in the commission, this demand was granted, and Peko Pavlovic, with six Pevianiki, made his appearance. When the commission had constituted itself, all the Kuczes appeared before it, while some 500 or 600 armed Christians assembled outside the place to prevent any treachery on the part of the Turks.

"The demands of the Nevesinjians were as follows:—

"1. That Christian girls and women should no more be molested by the Turks; 2, free exercise of their religion, and that their churches should no more be insulted; 3, that they should have equal rights with the Turks before the tribunals; 4, that they should be protected from the violence of the Zaptiehs (*gendarmerie*); 5, that the farmers of the tithe should take no more than the law orders, and should take this at the proper time.

"The Government may have been in earnest in their intention to grant these demands, but the Slavic Mussulmans made the most violent opposition against this curtailment of their privileges. Attempts were made to reduce the demands of the Christians by persuasion, intimidation, and even corruption, but they were of no avail. The fruitless negotiations induced Dervish Pasha to come in person to Nevesinje and have a meeting with the Kuczes outside the Kassaba in the open. At this meeting the latter not only reiterated their former demands, but added to them—

"6. That every house shall pay all in all only one ducat a year; 7, that no forced labour, personal or with horses, should be asked for by the Government, but when needed should be duly paid for, as was the case all over the world.

"If all this was granted, they declared that they would forget all that their Mahommedan brethren had done, and live as peaceful subjects of the Sultan. Dervish Pasha promises to do all in his power to have their demands granted, but that they must first lay down their arms. To this the people reply that they have not taken up arms against the Sultan, but from fear of the Slavic Mussulmans; that he should therefore, until the decision is made, remove them or the Mussulmans to another portion of the country.

"Dervish Pasha returns to Serajvic; the Christians, on their side, retire to the mountains, taking with them their goods and families, and leaving their empty houses and untilled fields to the Turks. The same occurs on the plateau of Bilec. The Mussulmans of Nevesinje, seeing the threatening attitude of the Christians, ask for arms and ammunition from the Kaimakam, who asks for

instructions from the Mutesarif, who, in his turn, answers that he should prevent every hostile act against the Christians until further orders came from Constantinople. When the Kaimakam communicates this to the Mussulmans they reply that they would defend themselves, and under the lead of Ali Bey Redjiparic they break into the Government store and take all the breechloaders and ammunition.

"Thus, at the end of June, both parties in Nevesinje stood face to face ready to fight, the Christians with few arms and no ammunition, and without knowing whither and by whom they might be supported. In the other districts people were waiting to see what Nevesinje would do, but taking care not to provoke the Turks.

"It would still have been in the power of the Government to prevent the rising by collecting at once a sufficient force to keep in check the Mussulmans. It would thus have taken away from the Christians the pretext of armed resistance; it might then gradually have disarmed them, and forced them to remain quiet without even granting the reforms demanded. There was as yet no organization among the Christians; Montenegro had pledged itself to nothing; the Catholic Church would have readily seized the opportunity of showing its influence in calming the population, and preventing bloodshed; but the Turkish Government missed the opportunity. Contempt of the strength of the Rayah, aversion from showing energy in face of the Mussulman population, indolence of the authorities, who did not realize the bearings of such a rising—these were the causes which allowed the glowing embers to burst out into a flame.

"BEGINNING OF THE INSURRECTION.

"On the 1st of July the Mussulmans, who, provided with arms, patrolled through the plain of Nevesinje, killed some Christians who had returned ill to their homes. On this the Christians, divided into four bands, lay an ambush for the Turks, and succeed already on the 3rd in surrounding and massacring a band of Turks; and on the 6th they attack a column of provisions, escorted by

frontier guards and armed citizens, and take away 47 horses. On the 7th there is another such small fight. Selim Pasha, who with two battalions came by Stolatz to Nevesinje, has an engagement on the 18th of July in the plain of Dabra, when he defeats the insurgents. On this the leaders of the Christians of Nevesinje, Gatschko, and Bilec have a meeting on the 20th in the plain of Dabra. The participation of the Turkish troops had produced a strong impression on those assembled, who declare that they do not want to revolt against the Sultan, but against the native Mussulmans; but, as the collision had already occurred, the opinion still is that there is no backing out, and that now the chief thing is to be united. Many think that there is no chance of success without the co-operation of the Catholics; besides that, arms are wanting; the Prince of Montenegro should be asked to supply them. From each district two men are chosen, who, on the 23rd, go by Ragusa to Cettinje to ask the Prince for arms, ammunition, and other help. The Prince answers that he has himself no arms and ammunition to spare, that he has himself to protect his frontier, and that they must not reckon on his assistance; but if soldiers and Mahommedans should attack, he thought there would be brethren who would help them.

"About the same time Peko Paolovics and Pop Bogdan of Gatschko; Nicola Grahovac, of Nevesinje; Gligor Milicevic, of Bilec; Gligor Popovac, of Brela, with 200 chosen men, went to Ravno to induce the Catholics there to rise. This parish, long prepared by the young and ambitious Dum Joan Music, declares for the insurrection, and the other Catholics of Stolatz, Ravno, and Dalrara join; everywhere preparations are made for an armed rising, which is to be organized likewise on the right bank of the Narenta. The districts of Brela, Popovo, and Bobani, inhabited by people of the Orthodox faith, likewise join the insurrection. In the district of Bilec the brothers Kovacevic form bands which do every sort of harm to the Mussulman inhabitants, plundering, burning their houses, and killing them whenever they can. The bands of the Voivodes of Bilec interrupt all lines of communication,

cut the telegraph wires, and take away transports of the Government not less than of private persons.

"The above-named leaders of the movement return from Ravno to Nevesinje in order to undertake another agitation tour by Ljubomir and Brela to Suma. In Nevesinje they meet Mico Ballardic, named Ljubibratics, who had come with a number of Serbs and a complete plan of organization devised by the Servian Omladina. Differences arose between him and Peko Paolovic, who would not give up his place as chief Voivode. The difference ended with Ljubibratics being well beaten and driven away almost naked. He goes to Cettinje to complain to the Prince. This was the state of things by the end of July. All the land, with the exception of a small portion of the district of Trebinje, was up, but badly provided with arms and ammunition, without plan, and without unity of command. The Turks in the towns thought it time to take counter measures; every one armed himself, ammunition was prepared, guards were posted along the towns at night, and patrols of frontier guards and armed citizens were sent along the Austrian frontier to prevent communication.

"In the meantime, the Catholics of the right bank of the Narenta, who had taken up arms immediately after Nevesinje, in order to repel an attack of the Turks on the village of Drenkovec, abandoned the cause of the insurrection. What most contributed to this was the murder of the Prior Kavaula in Livno (Govica), which so intimidated the Franciscan monks that Bishop Krajlevic, who, pressed by the Turkish Government, undertook a journey of pacification in his diocese, had easy work, as he was met half way. The object in view—namely, to convince the Government of the influence of the Catholic clergy—had been attained, and the authority of the latter secured. With the end of July, arms disappeared on the right bank of the Narenta; and this river forms the limit between the disturbed and the quiet part of Herzegovina. East of the Narenta, on the contrary, the insurrection progresses rapidly; the above-named leaders, with their armed suite, make tours in order to induce, by persuasion or threats, the clans and villages to

join. The districts of Suma and Bobani were the object of their journey on the 27th of July. The former rose unanimously, the second only in part. There was still the Archimandrite of the Monastery of Duze, on the road to Ragusa, who stuck to the Government, and who had even asked for a guard, as he could not defend himself against the surrounding population, which had already revolted. He was told to hold out until the reinforcements of troops which had already left Constantinople should arrive; but he entreated anew the Turks to send him help, as the danger was near. But there arose cries among the Mussulmans of Trebinje that it was impossible for Christians and Mussulmans to fight together, to fall together on the same field, and, perhaps, be buried together. The assistance was, therefore, refused, so that when, on the 31st of July, the Voivodes often mentioned appeared before Duze, the Archimandrite Molentic joined, and with him the rest of Suma.

"On the 5th of August, Ljubibratics appeared in Duze, where, by order of the Prince of Montenegro, he took the command, and, assembling the people of Suma and Bobani, closed on the 6th of August the road from Trebinje to Ragusa. On the 16th of August the clan Zubci joined, and so the districts of Nevesinje, Bilec, Gatchsko, Trebinje, and Stolatz were in insurrection. There were numbers of villages which took no active part, but they have all been drawn in, partly by threats and partly by persuasion.

"The Turkish authorities of Trebinje might, perhaps, have foiled the whole movement, for the Archimandrite Melentic had, and still has, such influence that many villages which were already in insurrection would have laid down their arms; but fanaticism prevented the Turks from taking advantage of this. As soon, however, as Melentic had joined, the Zubci joined likewise, and the whole insurrection formed now one compact body.

"There was still a great want of arms and ammunition; but on the 27th of July 15 horseloads of ammunition came from Montenegro, which had been sent by an unknown person from Grahovo to the Igumen of the Monastery of Hossievevo. On the 15th of

August came other 15 horseloads of ammunition, and six horseloads of rifles. The Monastery of Hossievevo became the head-quarters of Peko Paolovics, who now formally took command of the districts of Trebinje, Bilec, and Stolatz. Montenegro now came forward as protector of the movement, and men, arms, and ammunition have come ever since from there. But the people of Herzegovina did not allow others to do the work for them; they have fought, and do now fight, themselves for their freedom. The people have naturally only their first object in view, and this is to avenge themselves on the Mahommedans for all the miseries they have suffered. What the consequences may be they little think or care for. They leave that to their leaders, and they know what they want.

"Not all the clans have espoused the cause of the insurrection with equal zeal. The wild and hardy sons of Gatschko, Nevesinje, Bilec, Korjewic, and Banjani, and part of Zubci, are warlike; they care little for rain or cold, and only rest when there are no Turks to be got at. The inhabitants of Popovo Poljc, Bobani, and Stolatz are, on the contrary, faint-hearted, and try to shirk duty by going across the Austrian frontier, whence their leaders often drive them back by force. The foreigners are looked upon with little love, and they are only tolerated because they represent that sympathy which manifests itself, to the great satisfaction of the insurgents, in money, arms, ammunition, and clothing.

"I have in my former reports spoken in detail about the progress of the insurrection, the prospects of the insurgents, and their manner of warfare, so that I do not think it necessary to touch upon these points. I must only give expression to a conviction that the last successes of the insurgents over the Turks have considerably raised their confidence, and that the ties of brotherhood, which had already become much loosened, have been again tightened by the material gains of the victory—probably for so long as will be necessary to make the Turks see that they cannot alone master the insurrection. Neither the impotence of the Turkish troops nor the bitter privations which they may expect have

erto opened the eyes of the Slavic Mahommedans to the fact their rule is over. They cannot realize such an idea; so that ıe work of carrying the promised reforms into effect be taken in d, a strong armed force will be needed to keep down the ınded pride and vanity of this race."

APPENDIX II.

HATTI-HUMAYOUN DU 18 FEVRIER 1856.

A vous, mon grand vizir Méhémed-Emin-A'ali-Pasha; que Dieu vous accorde la grandeur et double votre pouvoir.

Mon désir le plus cher a toujours été d'assurer le bonheur de toutes les classes de mes sujets que la divine Providence a placés sous mon sceptre impérial, et, depuis mon avènement au trône, je n'ai cessé de faire tous mes efforts dans ce sens. Grâces en soient rendues au Tout-Puissant! Ces efforts incessants ont déjà porté des fruits utiles et nombreux. De jour en jour, le bonheur de la nation et la richesse de mes Etats vont en augmentant. Désirant aujourd'hui renouveler et élargir encore les règlements nouveaux, institués en vue d'arriver à obtenir un état de choses conforme à la dignité de mon empire et à la position qu'il occupe parmi les nations civilisées, et les droits de mon empire ayant aujourd'hui, par la fidélité et les louables efforts de tous mes sujets, et par le concours bienveillant et amical des grandes puissances, mes nobles alliées, reçu de l'extérieur une consécration qui doit être le commencement d'une ère nouvelle, je veux augmenter le bien-être et la prospérité intérieur, rendre heureux tous mes sujets, qui sont tous égaux à mes yeux et me sont également chers, et qui sont unis entre eux par des rapports cordiaux de patriotisme, et assurer les moyens de faire, de jour en jour, croître la prospérité de mon empire.

J'ai donc résolu et j'ordonne la mise à exécution des mesures suivantes:

1. Les garanties promises de notre part à tous les sujets de mon empire par le *Hatti-Humâyoun* de Gulhané et les lois du Tanzimat, sans distinction de classe ni de culte, pour la sécurité de leurs personnes et de leurs biens, et pour la conservation de leur honneur, sont aujourd'hui confirmées et consolidées, et des mesures efficaces seront prises pour qu'elles reçoivent leur plein et entier effet.

2. Tous les priviléges et immunités spirituels accordés *ab antiquo*, et à des dates postérieures, à toutes les communautés chrétiennes ou à d'autres rites non musulmans dans mon empire, sous mon égide protectrice, sont confirmés et maintenus.

3. Chaque communauté chrétienne ou d'autres rites non musulmans sera tenue, dans un délai fixé, et avec le concours d'une commission formée *ad hoc* dans son sein, de procéder avec ma haute approbation, et sous la surveillance de ma Sublime-Porte, à l'examen de ses immunités et priviléges, et d'y discuter et soumettre à ma Sublime-Porte des réformes exigées par le progrès des lumières et des temps. Les pouvoirs concédés aux patriarches et aux évêques des rites chrétiens, par le sultan Mahomet II et ses successeurs, seront mis en harmonie avec la position nouvelle que mes intentions généreuses et bienveillantes assurent à ces communautés. Le principe de la nomination à vie des patriarches, après la révision des règlements d'élection aujourd'hui en vigueur sera exactement appliqué, conformément à la teneur de leurs firmans d'investiture. Les patriarches, les métropolitains, archevêques, évêques et rabbins, seront assermentés à leur entrée en fonctions, d'après une formule concertée en commun entra ma Sublime-Porte et les chefs spirituels des diverses communautés. Les redevances ecclésiastiques, de quelque forme et nature qu'elles soient, seront supprimées et remplacées par la fixation des revenus des patriarches et chefs des communautés, et par l'allocation de traitements et de salaires équitablement proportionnés à l'importance, au rang et à la dignité des divers membres du clergé. Il ne sera porté aucune atteinte aux propriétés mobilières et immobilières des divers clergés chrétiens ; toutefois, l'administration temporelle des communautés chrétiennes, ou d'autres rites non musulmans, sera placée sous la

sauvegarde d'une assemblée choisie dans le sein de chacune des dites communautés parmi les membres du clergé et les laïques.

4. Dans les villes, bourgades et villages où la population appartiendra en totalité au même culte, il ne sera apporté aucune entrave à la réparation, *d'après les plans primitifs*, des édifices destinés au culte, aux écoles, aux hôpitaux et aux cimetières. Les plans de ces divers édifices, en cas d'érection nouvelle, approuvés par les patriarches ou chefs des communautés, devront être soumis à ma Sublime-Porte, qui les approuvera par mon ordre impérial, ou fera ses observations dans un délai déterminé. Chaque culte, dans les localités où ne se trouveront point d'autres confessions religieuses, ne sera soumis à aucune espèce de restriction dans la manifestation publique de sa religion. Dans les villes, bourgades et villages où les cultes sont mélangés, chaque communauté, habitant un quartier distinct, pourra également, en se conformant aux prescriptions ci-dessus indiquées, réparer et consolider ses églises, ses hôpitaux, ses écoles et ses cimetières. Lorsqu'il s'agira de la construction d'édifices nouveaux, l'autorisation nécessaire sera demandée, par l'organe des patriarches ou chefs des communautés, à ma Sublime-Porte, qui prendra une décision souveraine, en accordant cette autorisation, *à moins d'obstacles administratifs*. L'intervention de l'autorité administrative dans tous les actes de cette nature sera entièrement gratuite. Ma Sublime-Porte prendra des mesures pour assurer à chaque culte, quel que soit le nombre des adhérents, la pleine liberté de son exercice.

5. Toute distinction ou appellation tendant à rendre une classe quelconque des sujets de mon empire inférieure à une autre classe, à raison du culte, de la langue ou de la race, sera à jamais effacée du protocole administratif. Les lois séviront contre l'emploi, entre particuliers ou de la part des autorités, de toute qualification injurieuse ou blessante.

6. Vu que tous les cultes sont et seront librement pratiqués dans mes États, aucun sujet de mon empire ne sera gêné dans l'exercice de la religion qu'il professe, et ne sera d'aucune manière inquiété à cet égard. Personne ne pourra être contrait à changer de religion.

7. La nomination et le choix de tous les fonctionnaires et autres employés de mon empire étant entièrement dépendants de ma volonté souveraine, tous les sujets de mon empire, sans distinction de nationalité, seront admissibles aux emplois publics et aptes à les occuper selon leurs capacités et leur mérite, et conformément à des règles d'une application générale.

8. Tous les sujets de mon empire seront indistinctement reçus dans les écoles civiles et militaires du Gouvernement, s'ils remplissent d'ailleurs les conditions d'âge et d'examens spécifiées dans les règlements organiques desdites écoles. De plus, chaque communauté est autorisée à établir des écoles publiques de sciences, d'arts et d'industrie. Seulement, le mode d'enseignement et le choix des professeurs dans les écoles de cette catégorie seront sous le contrôle d'un conseil mixte d'instruction publique, dont les membres seront nommés par un ordre souverain de ma part.

9. Toutes les affaires commerciales, correctionnelles et criminelles, entre des musulmans et des sujets chrétiens ou d'autres rites non musulmans, ou entre chrétiens et autres sujets de rites différents, seront déférées à des tribunaux mixtes. L'audience de ces tribunaux sera publique ; les parties seront mises en présence et produiront leurs témoins, dont les dépositions seront reçues indistinctement sous un serment prêté selon la loi religieuse de chaque culte. Les procès ayant trait aux affaires civiles continueront d'être jugés publiquement, d'après les lois et les règlements, par devant les conseils mixtes des provinces, en présence du gouverneur et du juge du lieu.

10. Les procès civils spéciaux, comme ceux de successions ou autres de ce genre, entre les sujets d'un même rite chrétien ou autre non musulman, pourront, à leur demande, être envoyés par-devant les conseils des patriarches ou des communautés.

11. Les lois pénales, correctionnelles et commerciales, et les règles de procédure à appliquer dans les tribunaux mixtes, seront complétées le plus tôt possible et codifiées. Il en sera publié des traductions dans toutes les langues en usage dans mon empire.

12. Il sera procédé, dans le plus bref délai possible, à la réforme

du système pénitentiaire dans son application aux maisons de détention, de punition ou de correction et autres établissements de même nature, afin de concilier les droits de l'humanité avec ceux de la justice. Aucune peine corporelle, même dans les prisons, ne pourra être appliquée que conformément à des règlements disciplinaires émanés de ma Sublime-Porte, et tout ce qui ressemblerait à la torture sera radicalement aboli. Les infractions à ce sujet seront sévèrement réprimées, et entraîneront, en outre, de plein droit, la punition, en conformité du code criminel, des autorités qui les auraient commises.

13. L'organisation de la police dans la capitale, dans les villes de province et dans les campagnes, sera revisée de façon à donner à tous les sujets paisibles de mon empire les garanties désirables de sécurité quant à leurs personnes et à lieurs biens.

14. L'égalité des impôts entraînant l'égalité des charges, comme celle des devoirs entraîne celle des droits, les sujets chrétiens et des autres rites non musulmans devront, ainsi qu'il l'a été antérieurement résolu, aussi bien que les musulmans, satisfaire aux obligations de la loi de recrutement. Le principe du remplacement ou du rachat sera admis.

15. Il sera publié, dans le plus bref délai possible, une loi complète sur le mode d'admission et de service des sujets chrétiens et d'autres rites non musulmans dans l'armée.

16. Il sera procédé à une réforme dans la composition des conseils provinciaux et communaux, pour garantir la sincérité des choix des délégués des communautés musulmanes, chrétiennes et autres non musulmans, ainsi que la liberté des votes dans les conseils. Ma Sublime-Porta avisera à l'emploi des moyens les plus efficaces de connaître exactement et de contrôler le résultat des délibérations et des décisions prises.

17. Comme les lois qui régissent l'achat, la vente et la disposition des propriétés immobilières sont communes à tous les sujets de mon empire, il pourra être permis aux étrangers de posséder des propriétés foncières dans mes États, en se conformant aux lois et aux règlements de police, en acquittant les mêmes charges que les

indigènes, et après que des arrangements auront eu lieu avec les puissances étrangères.

18. Les impôts sonts exigibles au même titre de tous les sujets de mon empire, sans distinction de classe ni de culte. On avisera aux moyens les plus prompts et les plus énergiques de corriger les abus dans la perception des impôts, et notamment des dîmes. Le système de la perception directe sera successivement, et aussitôt que faire se pourra, substitué au régime des fermes dans toutes les branches des revenus de l'État. Tant que ce système demeurera en vigueur, il sera interdit, sous les peines les plus sévères, à tous les agents de l'autorité et à tous les membres des *medjlis* de se rendre adjudicataires des fermes qui seront annoncées avec publicité et concurrence, ou d'avoir une part quelconque d'intérêt dans l'exploitation de ces fermes. Les impositions locales seront, autant que possible, calculées de façon à ne pas affecter les sources de la production, comme à ne pas entraver le mouvement du commerce intérieur.

19. Les travaux d'utilité publique recevront une dotation convenable, à laquelle concourront les impositions particulières et spéciales des provinces appelées à jouir de l'établissement des voies de communication par terre et par mer.

20. Une loi spéciale ayant déjà été rendue, qui ordonne que le budget des recettes et des dépenses de l'État soit fixé et communiqué chaque année, cette loi sera observée de la manière la plus scrupuleuse. On procédera à la révision des traitements affectés à chaque emploi.

21. Les chefs et un délégué de chaque communauté désignés par ma Sublime-Porte seront appelés à prendre part aux délibérations du conseil suprême de justice dans touts les circonstances qui intéresseraient la généralité des sujets de mon empire. Ils seront spécialement convoqués à cet effet par mon grand vizir.

22. Le mandat des délégués sera annuel. Ils prêteront serment en entrant en charge. Tous les membres du conseil, dans les réunions ordinaires et extraordinaires, émettront librement leur avis et leur vote, sans qu'on puisse jamais les inquiéter à ce sujet.

23. Les lois contre la corruption, la concussion ou la malversation, seront appliquées, d'après les formes légales, à tous les sujets de mon empire, quelles que soient leur classe et la nature de leurs fonctions.

24. On s'occupera de la création de banques et d'autres institutions semblables, pour arriver à la réforme du système monétaire et financier, ainsi que de la création de fonds destinés à augmenter les sources de la richesse matérielle de mon empire.

25. On s'occupera également de l'établissement de routes et de canaux, qui rendront les communications plus faciles et augmenteront les sources de la richesse du pays. On abolira tout ce qui peut entraver le commerce et l'agriculture. Pour arriver à ces buts, on recherchera les moyens de mettre à profit les sciences, les arts et les capitaux de l'Europe, et de les mettre ainsi successivement en exécution.

Tels étant mes volontés et mes ordres, vous, qui êtes mon grand vizir, vous ferez, suivant l'usage, publier, soit dans ma capitale, soit dans toutes les parties de mon empire, ce firman impérial, et vous veillerez avec attention et prendez toutes les mesures nécessaires afin que tous les ordres qu'il contient soient dorénavant exécutés avec la plus rigoureuse ponctualité.

APPENDIX III.

FUAD PASHA'S POLITICAL TESTAMENT.

To the Sultan Abdul Aziz.

[*Translation.*]

Nice, Jan. 3, 1862.

Sire,

I have but a few days, perhaps only a few hours more to live, and I wish to devote them to the accomplishment of a sacred duty. I desire to lay at the feet of your Majesty the expression of my last ideas,—sad ideas, the bitter fruit of a long and anxious career.

When this writing shall be placed under your Majesty's eyes, I shall no longer be of this world. On this occasion, therefore, you may listen to me without mistrust. The voice from the tomb is always sincere.

God has entrusted you with a mission as glorious as it is full of perils In order to accomplish it worthily, your Majesty must endeavour to fully realize one great and painful truth—*the Empire of the Osmanli is in danger.*

The rapid progress of our neighbours, and the inconceivable faults of our ancestors, have placed us at the present day in an extremely critical position; and, in order to obviate a terrible catastrophe, your Majesty is bound to break with the past, and to guide your people towards new destinies.

Some ignorant patriots seek to make you believe that with our ancient means, we can re-establish our ancient greatness. A fatal error! an unpardonable illusion! True, if our neighbours remained still in the same state as in the days of our forefathers, our former

means might have sufficed to render your Majesty the arbiter of Europe. But, alas! our European neighbours are far from being what they were. For the last two centuries they have all been moving forward, and all have left us far behind.

Certainly, we also have made progress. Your actual government is much more enlightened, and possesses much greater resources than that of your ancestors. But, unhappily, this relative superiority is far from sufficing for the requirements of our age. To maintain yourself in Europe at the present day, you require not merely to equal, not merely even to surpass your ancient predecessors, but also to equal and proudly compete with your actual neighbours. To express my thought more clearly, I may say that your Empire is bound, under penalty of death in default, to have as much money as England, as much enlightenment as France, and as many soldiers as Russia. For us, it is no longer a question of making *much progress;* it is purely and simply a question of making *as much progress as the other nations of Europe.*

Our magnificent empire furnishes you amply with all the requisite elements for surpassing any European Power whatever. But to do this, one thing is absolutely necessary. *We must change all our institutions—political and civil.* Many laws, useful in past ages, have become injurious to society as it at present exists. Perfectible man needs to labour incessantly at rendering his own works more perfect.

Happily this first law of our nature is in entire conformity with the spirit of the Mussulman religion. For Islamism combines all the true doctrines which have for their essential object the progress of the world and the perfecting of humanity. Those who would assume, in the name of that religion, to enchain the onward march of our society, far from being Mussulmans, are but insensate unbelievers. All other religions are bound up with dogmas and unchangeable principles which are so many barriers against the progress of the human mind. Islamism alone, free from all the trammels of mysteries and infallible churches, renders it our sacred duty to advance with the world, to develop all our

intellectual faculties to the utmost, and to seek instruction and the light of science, not in Arabia, not amongst Mussulman nations solely, but abroad, in China, to the farthest confines of the globe.

Nor must it be thought that Mussulman science is different from that of foreigners. Not so. Science is one. One and the same sun suffuses the world of intelligence. And as, according to our belief, Islam is the universal expression of all truths and all knowledge, so, therefore, a useful discovery, a new source of information, whencesoever it may have originated, amongst Pagans as amongst Mussulmans, whether at Medina or at Paris, belongs always to Islam.

Thus, nothing prevents us from borrowing the new laws and the new appliances invented by Europe. I have studied our religion sufficiently to discern its true spirit. I have my head still clear enough to weigh the value of my ideas; and, assuredly, it is not at the moment in which I am about to abandon life in order to present myself before the Supreme Judge of the universe, that I would venture to betray my Sovereign, my country, and my creed. I assure you, then, with the most profound conviction, that in all these institutions of which Europe gives us the example, there is nothing, absolutely nothing, contrary to the spirit of our religion. I solemnly declare to you that the safety of Islamism demands that we should adopt at once those great institutions *without which no Power can any longer exist in Europe*. I solemnly declare to you, moreover, that in thus transforming our empire, not only will you do nothing opposed to the holiness of our religion, but, by such action, you will render to all Mussulmans, the most loyal and legitimate, the most praiseworthy, and glorious service that could have ever entered into the dreams of your most illustrious ancestors.

This great work of our regeneration embraces a multiplicity of questions which it is beyond my strength and the little of life remaining to me to dilate upon. But your Majesty has still at your side the eminent man whose friend and brother I have been.*

* The late A'ali Pasha died September, 1871.

May God preserve him to you! for he knows better than any one the means of safety for your empire. I have never given your Majesty an advice without having previously satisfied myself that it was approved by his wise judgment, the fruit of his ripe experience. Continue, Sire, I beg of you, to give him your confidence. Accord it to him implicitly; for the confidence of great sovereigns constitutes the strength of great ministers. What I presume to recommend to your Majesty is—never to suffer the priceless talents of this devoted servant to be hampered by ignorant colleagues. Nothing could discourage him more than the necessity of working with men incapable of understanding him.

I must now say a few words with regard to our foreign relations. It is here that the task of our Government becomes truly disheartening. Being unable to contend with our enemies unaided, we are obliged to seek friends and allies abroad. Their various interests, at once jealous and hostile, unjust and powerful, have placed us in a position which it is impossible to portray. In order to defend the smallest of our rights, we are obliged to exert more strength, skill, and courage than our ancestors needed to conquer kingdoms.

Amongst our foreign allies you will find ENGLAND always in the first rank. Her policy and her friendship are as firm as her institutions. She has rendered us immense services, and it would be impossible to calculate those which she may render us in the future. Whatever happens, the English people, the most steadfast and the most wonderful in the world, will be the first and last of our allies. *I would rather lose several provinces than see the Sublime Porte abandoned by England.*

FRANCE is an ally that we must manage at all hazards. Not only because she can render us the most important services, but because she can give us also most deadly blows. With that chivalrous nation there is more of sentiment than calculation. She takes a pride in glory and great ideas, even with her enemies. Thus the best way to preserve the alliance of this generous people is to keep up with their ideas, and to realize such progress as will strike

equally their imagination and their *esprit*. The day on which France will despair of our cause, she will herself bring about combinations hostile to our interest, and will end by causing our destruction.

AUSTRIA, embarrassed by her special European interests, has been obliged up to the present to restrain her *rôle* in the East. She committed an immense fault during the war in the Crimea. Driven out of Germany, she will for the future see more clearly her danger from the North, and certainly that danger is not less perilous for her than it is for our own empire. As long as a firm and far-seeing policy rules at Vienna, Austria will naturally be the ally of the Porte. The great evil, the ever-recurring evil which has troubled the East during more than one century, will only be definitely eradicated by the active alliance of Austria, supported by all our other allies of the West.

As to PRUSSIA, she has been hitherto almost indifferent upon Eastern questions, and it is not at all improbable that in her hasty policy she may even sacrifice us to her own project of German unity. But it is quite certain that, after her unity is achieved, Germany will not be long in perceiving that she also has at least as much interest in the Eastern Question as any other European Power whatever. Still, God grant that she may not have purchased the spoils of Austria at the cost of inducing our enemies to irrevocably take possession of our European provinces.

I come at last to RUSSIA, that inveterate enemy of our empire. The extension of that Power towards the East is a fatal law of the Muscovite destiny. If I had been myself a Russian Minister, I would have overturned the world to have conquered Constantinople. You must not therefore be astonished at, nor complain of, the aggressive action of Russia. She acts towards us to-day, only under a new form, just as formerly we did ourselves to the Greeks of the lower empire. To guarantee us against Muscovite invasion, it will be, therefore, childish to rely solely upon our rights; what we want on that side is *force*. Not our old historic force, which we should try in vain to revive, but that new and

irresistible force which modern science and ideas have placed in the hands of every European people. Since Peter the Great, Russia has made enormous progress, and soon her railways will double her power. That which alarms me most, however, is that, in Europe, the mass of the populations seems gradually to accustom themselves with resignation to the future encroachments of Russia.

The indifference of England to the events of Central Asia astonishes and alarms me. What alarms me most, however, is the considerable change which the pacification of the Caucasian provinces has brought about in the position of Russia. To me it is beyond doubt that, in any future events, the most serious attacks of the Russians will be directed against our provinces of Asia Minor. Your Majesty, therefore, should strive unintermittingly to organize our forces. Who knows if our allies will always be free to come in time to our aid? A domestic quarrel in Europe, and a Bismarck in Russia, might change the face of the world.

I can conceive of many acts of folly of all Governments; it is even one of their prerogatives to commit them. But I confess I have been unable to fathom the profound wisdom of the Governments which, with such strange indifference, permits the most frightful despotism in the world to put itself at the head of a hundred million barbarians, and arm them with all the appliances of civilization; to swallow up at every step provinces and kingdoms as large as France; and while it hems in Asia with its arms, and, on the other hand, undermines Europe by the agency of Panslavism, comes forward periodically protesting its love for peace, and its sincere resolution no more to seek for further conquests.

Russia leads me to say a few words also of Persia.

The Government of this turbulent country, always swayed by Shiïte fanaticism, has been the ally of our enemies from time immemorial. During the Crimean War, it made common cause with Russia, and that it did not realize its hostile projects is owing

to the vigilance of Western diplomacy. At the present day, the kingdom of the Shah is dependent on the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. So long as the Sublime Porte has her hands free, the Government of the Shah, feeble and ignorant as it is, without credit and without initiative, will never have the courage to seek a quarrel with us. But whenever we become involved with Russia, no matter with what care and consideration we may treat Persia, her political dependence, and, still more, her blind jealousy, will necessarily place her in the category of our bitterest enemies. Fortunately, in addition to our material resources, the Sublime Porte possesses moral means more than sufficient to keep in due respect a country crushed by a barbaric despotism, disputed by various pretenders, and, moreover, surrounded on all sides by Sunnite populations. On this point our interests are affected by many complex questions, which are entirely unappreciated amongst us, and which A'ali Pasha alone can explain to your Majesty.

Let us not forget GREECE—a country insignificant in itself, but an irritating instrument in the hands of a hostile Power. European poets, in improvising this illusion of a kingdom, have thought they would be able to give life to a nation dead for the last two thousand years. In seeking to revive the country of Homer and Aristotle, they have only succeeded in creating a focus of intrigues, of anarchy, and brigandage. The Sublime Porte may find amongst the Greeks some intelligent servants; but the spirit of the Hellenic race will always be essentially hostile to our cause. The recollections of a glorious history, although separated from our Greeks of the present day by centuries of corruption, ignorance, and spuriousness, will yet for a long time foster amongst this selfish race the hope of juggling once again into existence the Empire of the East, which it formerly so degraded into the Byzantine Empire, or the *Lower* Empire, as it was so well termed. What guarantees us most effectually against the attempts of this false and spiteful people is its revolting vanity and exclusiveness, which render it, from day to day, more odious and revolting to all our Oriental races.

Our policy should be to endeavour to isolate the Greeks as much

as possible from our other Christians. It is of paramount importance to withdraw the Bulgarians from the domination of the Greek Church, without, however, throwing it into the arms either of the Russians or of the Roman Clergy.

The Sublime Porte should never tolerate intrigues with a view to a union of the Armenians with the Orthodox Church. It would perhaps be wise to encourage amongst our Christians that philosophic spirit so well calculated to bring men into closer harmony by withdrawing them from clerical influence. But I hasten to add that, for us, the best policy will undeniably be to place the State above all religious questions whatever.

In our internal affairs, all our efforts should tend to one sole object—*the fusion of our various races.* Without such fusion, the maintenance of our empire appears to me an actual impossibility. Henceforward, this great empire can belong neither to the Greeks nor to the Slaves, to no single religion, nor to any single race. The empire of the East can subsist only by the intimate union of all Easterns.

A powerful Germany; France with its forty millions of inhabitants; England strongly fortified as it is by nature—all these great nationalities may, indeed, for some time longer maintain their powerful and useful individuality. But a Montenegro, a principality of Servia, a kingdom of Armenia, without conferring the slightest advantage either upon themselves or the world, can never be anything further than States more or less chimerical, wretched fragments of former convulsions of humanity, inevitably a prey to any new conqueror, prejudicial to the progress of mankind, and dangerous for the peace of the world.

In the constitutions of modern States the only durable theory is that of great agglomerations. Thus, also, the only means of preventing the ruin of our State is to reconstruct it anew upon a broad and solid basis, embracing all our different elements *without distinction of race or religion.* Here we begin to encounter a somewhat serious difficulty. Our Christian populations, suddenly relieved from the sway which held them subject, seem too ready

to replace their former masters. The Armenians especially have assumed an aggressive character; and it would be but right to moderate their ardour in opening our public careers only to such as shall have sincerely adopted the Unitarian principles of our empire. All our Christian populations have generally two distinct religions; one moral, and the other political. As regards the moral religion, our Government should ignore it completely; but, on the other hand, it should be closely attentive to all that relates to their political religion, for the latter often involves theories incompatible with our existence. In the fact of a Pasha worshipping God according to the law of Moses, or after the manner of the Christians, there is no reason why we should be deprived of the aid of his services. But if this same Pasha, oblivious of the unity of our country, indulge in dreams of a Byzantine empire, or aspire to serve a kingdom of Cilicia, then he ceases to be a faithful servant, and should be removed.

Unity of the State and of the country, based upon the equality of all—such is the sole dogma which I would wish to see exacted from all our public functionaries.

To elicit fully the marvels of this fruitful principle, your Majesty should apply yourself, in the first instance, to the organization of the *administration of justice*. The task is difficult, but it is urgent and indispensable. After having legally guaranteed the lives and property of all citizens, the foremost measure which your Government should consider as an imperious duty is the *construction of our roads*. The day on which we shall have as many railways as European nations, your Majesty will be at the head of the first empire in the world.

There is, however, another question which is for us of inexpressible importance—that of *Public Instruction*, the sole basis of all social progress, the perennial source of every moral and material greatness. Army, navy, administration are all involved in that. Without that essential basis, I foresee for us neither strength nor independence—neither government nor a future. Notwithstanding the eminently instructive spirit of our religion, education has

remained very backward with us for a multiplicity of reasons. Our innumerable medressés, and the copious resources which are consumed by them so uselessly, supply us with the material ready to our hands for a grand system of national education. If I have myself failed to carry this fine thought into effect, it is because I have been diverted from it by a concurrence of most unfortunate circumstances. I bequeath the measure to my successors: they could not possibly conceive of any which would prove more fruitful or more glorious.

I know that the greater part of our Mussulmans will curse me as a *ghiaour* and an enemy to our religion. I forgive their anger, for they can understand neither my sentiments nor my language. They will one day come to know that I, a *ghiaour*, an "impious innovator," have been much more religious, much more truly a Mussulman, than the ignorant zealots who have covered me with their maledictions. They will recognize, but unhappily too late, that I have striven more than any other martyr to save the religion and the empire which they would have led to an inevitable ruin.

The first law of every institution, human or divine, is the law of self-preservation. And, in all our reforms, what have I sought but the preservation of Islam? Only that, instead of seeking it in blind submission to ancient prejudices, I have endeavoured to find it in those luminous paths which the God himself of Islam has traced before us, as he has traced them before all the nations of the earth.

My weak and trembling hand refuses to proceed further. In concluding these lines, I beg your Majesty will deign to give your attention to the dying words of a faithful servant, who, in the midst of human weakness, always loved his fellow-men, laboured constantly to accomplish all the good in his power, and who now, broken under the weight of his responsibilities, quits the world without regret, and dies a resigned Mussulman, delivering up his soul to the Supreme Judge, who is at once compassionate and merciful.

APPENDIX IV.

BOSNIA.

Bosnia is rich in pasture grounds which are particularly adapted for rearing cattle. The vast forests of oak in the north are also admirably calculated for fattening swine, whilst some parts of the province, owing to the coolness of the climate and the quality of the vegetation, are not less favourable for the rearing of sheep, and for the production of a superior quality of wool, much esteemed in the markets of Europe. Thus it is that cattle and sheep form a considerable portion of the wealth of the inhabitants, and likewise a great proportion of the trade that is carried on with their neighbours. The northern districts of Zvornik, Bania-luka, and Bihka produce oxen, swine, and horses; the southern districts of Yeni-Bazar, Hersek, and Serajevo produce sheep. Seinitza, Novi-Bazar, Priepoli, and Novi-Varosh produce the best quality of wool, while Serajevo, Tashlija, and Koprez come next. Tanneries have for a considerable time existed in the country, and leather is not an unimportant article of commerce.

Of the vegetable productions, plums, of which large quantities are consumed in Bosnia, are the most important. A great quantity of spirit is distilled from them, and considerable quantities are exported. Grain is next in importance, and yields a great profit-800 per cent. being the average return. The climate is too cold for the culture of the olive-tree or the cotton-plant, but mulberry-trees thrive, and the silkworm might be introduced into the country with every prospect of success. Tar is produced as well as

resin from the fir and pine-trees, and timber of every description abounds.

Of the mineral riches of the country, the iron mines are the only ones at present worked to any extent by the natives. The following are the positions of the principal mines in Bosnia :—

Gold and Silver.—The mountains round Bosnia-Seraï contain gold and silver; and in a forest near Travnik, the excavations of the celebrated gold mine of Ilatnizza (literally signifying gold in the Bosnian tongue) are still visible. There are silver mines near Preberniza on the Drina, Kruppa on the Unna, and Kamengrad, within a short distance of the Verbas.

Iron.—The iron of Bosnia is of excellent quality, resembling the best variety of Swedish. Some mines are worked in the vicinity of Bosnia-Seraï by gipsies, who have a number of smithies in which horse-shoes, nails, locks, iron-plates, and other wares are manufactured. There are also iron-mines at Vakup, Kamengrad, Kreshovo, Ossoji, Babgaravan, Foinitza, Bussovatz, Varesh, Slari, Maidan, and Barrovitzo.

Lead.—At Olovo, Kladem, Shedni, Kreshovo, and Zvornik.

Copper.—The copper ore is very rich, yielding on an average 35 per cent. of pure copper; but that amount could be still further increased if the appliances of European science were introduced, as fully 8 per cent. of metal remains in the refuse of the furnaces. There are mines at Kreshovo and Foinitza.

Mercury.—At Kreshovo and Inact.

Zinc.—Zinc is found in considerable quantities in the basin of mines surrounding the town of Kreshovo, 25 miles north-west of Serajevo.

Arsenic.—Kreshovo, Ivitza, &c. It is abundant throughout the province in the form of orpiment and realgar; the ore is very fine, and would, no doubt, prove exceedingly remunerative.

There are also two mines of cinnabar in Bosnia, both of which have been worked; but, owing to a fault in the vein, the works have been discontinued, as the technical knowledge of the miners is not sufficient to enable them to recover the trace of the ore.

There are also fine quarries of freestone and mill-stones, alabaster, and marble. Rock-salt is found in large quantities near the town of Jusla, and mineral and hot springs abound throughout the province. Coal is also plentiful.

The superficial area of Bosnia (including the Herzegovina) is 2300 square miles, and the population, about 1,150,000, is thus divided :—

	Christians.	Mussulmans.	Total.
Sandjak of Serajevo .	42,823	58,964	101,787
Travnik . . .	103,026	54,912	157,938
Banialuka . .	127,833	35,764	163,597
Behulah . . .	103,165	76,023	179,188
Svoinik . . .	127,950	110,865	238,815
Novi-Bazar . .	46,225	49,350	95,575
Herzegovina . .	120,000	80,000	200,000
Jews . . .	—	—	3,100
Gipsies . .	—	—	10,000
Total . .	671,022	465,878	1,150,000

Very few articles of British manufactures are consumed in Bosnia; not that the native trader is ignorant of their superior quality, but because his means do not permit him to enter into the trade. The native merchants are obliged to receive from their consignors at Trieste whatever the latter choose to send, and as the trader, in the absence of banks or such institutions, is unable to give his foreign correspondent any tangible security, he is obliged to pay heavy interest for these investments, and the eventual purchaser suffers accordingly. Cotton cloth forms a principal article of import, and seems to be, in most cases, of British manufacture; but the price it bears is nearly one-half as much again as in England. Cotton twist is purchased by the peasantry, who find it cheaper to weave their own cloth than pay the high prices demanded for foreign manufactures. Fine woollen fabrics of French or German manufactures are worn by the Mussulman portion of the inhabitants who do not condescend to wear the coarse cloth of the

country. Green and scarlet are the colours most in use. Of the colonial produce consumed in the country, coffee comes from Marseilles, through Trieste, and is probably the production of the French colonies; the sugar is of Belgian manufacture; and the rice is imported from Egypt. The rum imported is made from beetroot, in the neighbourhood of Trieste. The iron wire, sheet iron, and tin-plates imported are said to be of British manufacture.—"*Resources of Turkey.*" *By J. Lewis Farley.*

APPENDIX V.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

THE 17th of November, 1869, witnessed the historical apotheosis of M. de Lesseps. After half a lifetime of devotion to an idea, and faith in his own destiny to carry it out, he, on that day, received a triumph grander both in its significance and its attendant incidents than Roman conqueror ever enjoyed. The presence, at the opening of the Suez Canal, of two sovereigns, half a dozen royal princes, statesmen, ambassadors, *savants*, and other celebrities beyond count —besides thousands of less distinguished visitors from the Old and New Worlds, and representative squadrons from every navy in Europe—sufficed to give an *éclat* to the occasion with which even a Frenchman's passion for "glory" might be well content. Nor was the honour unearned, for, be the mere commercial result what it may, this union of the two seas will rank amongst the great works of the world, and to M. de Lesseps, more that any other living man, does the credit of it belong.

Nor is this lessened by the fact that the idea which was thus realised is as old as the Pharaohs. Centuries before the Christian era, both Hebrew and Phœnician ships traversed the Red Sea on their way to Ophir, and, during the dynasty of the Ptolemies and the Roman dominion, large fleets were sent out annually from Berenice and Myos-Hormes to India. After the establishment of the Mahommedan Empire in the seventh century, an immense trade was carried on through the Red Sea with India and China; and, in the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the treasures

of the East found their way over the coral-reefed Yam-Sûph to the Venetian factories in Alexandria. During the long historic span thus covered, many efforts had been made to pierce the Isthmus. Herodotus, Book ii., chap. 158, relates that Nichos, son of Psammiticus (616-600 B.C.), was the first who opened a communication by means of a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. The canal was large enough to allow two trireme galleys to go abreast, the water being taken from the Nile, a little above the ancient Boubrastis—subsequently called Basta—a city situated on the Pelusian branch of the river.

The canal opened into the Red Sea near the Pithomus of Scripture, the Patumas of Herodotus, and the Hieropolis of the Ptolemies, the site of which, at the present day, is to be found at the northern extremity of the Bitter Lakes, not far from the actual shore of the Red Sea. It must be remembered, however, that two thousand five hundred years ago these lakes were only an extension of the Erythrean Sea, and that the Gulf of Suez was then called the Gulf of Hieropolis. The galleys were towed by men, and Herodotus gives four days as the time required for the passage. It appeared, nevertheless, that this route was not the best, and that the most direct course would have been to begin the canal on the shore of the Mediterranean, near Mount Cassius, which separated Egypt from Syria, and from which the Erythrean Sea was only distant a thousand stadia. According to Herodotus, this was the shortest route. In cutting his canal, King Nichos caused the death of one hundred and twenty thousand men; but, having been told by an oracle that the canal would be the means of bringing the barbarians into Egypt, he discontinued the works, and gave up his project in despair.

According to Strabo, the canal of Nichos commenced at Phacusa, and passed to Belbeïs, where it met the one which washed the walls of Boubrastis. From Belbeïs (Pharbaetus), it entered the bitter lake below Hieropolis, and, as this canal was a derivative of the Nile, the water of the bitter lake, in receiving that of the river, partook of the character of the sweet water of the Nile. A

century after Nichos, Darius, son of Hydaspes, King of Persia (521-485 B.C.) caused the works to be recommenced; but the engineers having assured him that the Red Sea was of a higher elevation than Egypt itself, he was so much afraid of altogether submerging the country he desired to improve, that the works were once more suspended. In fine, Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt (273 B.C.), finished the canal joining the two seas; and, in order to render the mouth of the canal in the Red Sea more safe, he made a dam (*hizei-orou*) which opened and shut at will. The dam served at the same time to collect the waters of the Nile in the canal, and thus facilitated internal navigation. The canal of Ptolemy entered the Red Sea near Arsinoé—the present Suez—which afterwards took the name of Cleopatra.

After the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), Cleopatra, seeing that the forces of Egppt could not resist those of the Roman Empire united against her, formed the singular project of taking her fleet through the canal into the Red Sea, and thus fly into some distant country. Some ships attempted the passage, but were burned by the Arabs, and Antony persuaded Cleopatra to abandon her design, and defend the entrance to her kingdom both by sea and land. Under the Roman Empire, Trajan renewed the canal of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and even added a branch which went some stadia below Memphis. This extension of the canal was called by the name of Trajan; Ptolemy called it Amina Trajanus; Quintus Curtius named it Oxius, and the Arabs *Merahemi*. Nothing further was done until the time of the Arabs, when, in the year 637 of the Christian era, Amrou, the lieutenant of the Caliph Omar, succeeded in reopening the old channel as far as Bubrastis, on the Pelusian branch of the Nile. Volney, however, relates, that one hundred and thirty-four years later the Caliph, Abou-Djaffat-el-Mansour, destroyed it in the hope of crushing his rebellious subjects by cutting off the means of transporting provisions, and thus starving them into subjection. From that time no further effort was made, and the canal soon became blocked up by the then unconquerable sands. So it remained for a thousand years, until,

in 1798, General Bonaparte, then commanding the troops of the French Republic in Egypt, proposed to cut a canal across the Isthmus capable of being navigated by sea-going ships, and the work, which had been begun upwards of two thousand four hundred years before, would then have been recommenced but for the mistake of French engineers, who declared the Mediterranean to be considerably below the level of the Red Sea, and a canal to be therefore impossible.

From that time the question continued to be agitated at intervals; but nothing definite was done till 1830, when Lieutenant Waghorn—then engaged in the establishment of his Overland Route—again surveyed the Isthmus, and found the level of the two seas to be identical. Still, though interest was for a time revived by the announcement of this fact, no further action was taken with reference to the scheme till 1847, when England, France, and Austria, sent out a commission to solve, once for all, the problem of the sea levels. This commission—on which Mr. Robert Stephenson represented our own Government—confirmed Waghorn's report, with the sole variance of finding a difference of five feet in the tide—not the real—levels of the two seas at the proposed termini of the canal. Another examination, leading to similar results, was made five years later, but Mr. Stephenson nevertheless pronounced against the feasibility of the canal, and his opinion—though at variance with that of M. Talabot, the French member of the commission—being accepted by the Government and public of England, the railway from Cairo to Suez, which he recommended instead, was the result.

In the meantime another mind had been occupied with the scheme for nearly a quarter of a century. When Waghorn was advocating his own peculiar enterprise, young Ferdinand Lesseps was an *élève* in the French Consulate at Cairo, and, interested by our countryman's settlement of the sea levels, he conceived the idea of accomplishing the great work which, years before, Napoleon had abandoned. For four-and-twenty years of active official life the idea kept firm hold of his imagination, until being again in Egypt

in 1854, he developed his plan to the then Viceroy, Saïd Pasha, and finally, two years later, obtained from him a concession to construct a ship-canal across the Isthmus from a point near Tyneh to Suez. Of the opposition that then began on the part of Lord Palmerston and the English press it is needless to speak, for is it not all written in Blue Books and journals innumerable? This, however, rather stimulated than discouraged M. de Lesseps, while it also stirred up the national feeling in France, and, with its help, enabled him, in 1858, to launch his "Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez" with a capital of £8,000,000 sterling, on nearly every stock exchange in Europe. Few shares, however, were taken up out of France, but enough were placed there to warrant his commencing operations in the spring of the following year, and accordingly, on the 25th of April, 1859, the "Président Fondateur" and his little band of followers took possession, in the company's name, of the narrow belt of sand on the northern coast of the Isthmus, between Lake Menzaleh and the sea.

The subsequent ten years' history of the scheme need not be traced. Enough to say that, by dint of perseverance and energy, which may, without extravagance, be called heroic, M. de Lesseps overcame difficulties against which few living men could have successfully battled, and he now has his reward in witnessing the completion of an enterprise which will indissolubly link his name with Egyptian history.—"*Modern Turkey.*" *By J. Lewis Farley.*

London: Clayton and Co., English and Foreign Printers, Bouverie St., Whitefriars.

3 2044 012 749 552

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED THE COST OF OVERDUE NOTIFICATION IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

STALL-STUDY
CHARGE
CANCELLED

STALL-STUDY
CHARGE

STALL-STUDY
CHARGE

WIDENER
MAY 19 1998
CANCELLED

WIDENER
SEP 10 2004
CANCELLED
BOOK DUE

WIDENER
CANCELLED
JAN 27 1989